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CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

The Crisis—Brief Résumé

FROM January 20 there were reports of disorders in Nyasaland, in most cases arising out of processions after meetings, or unauthorized meetings of Africans, being broken up by officials or police, who were then mobbed or stoned. When the police made arrests, large crowds gathered in protest, tear gas and batons were used to disperse the crowds, there was more stoning, some of passing cars and of buildings, and rioting. These disturbances occurred from the northern shores of Lake Nyasa to Fort Hill near the Northern Rhodesian border, in the Central Province and in the south. Three Europeans and some Africans were injured and airfield installations were damaged by the rioters. At the request of the Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, troops were moved from Southern and Northern Rhodesia to Nyasaland on February 20. This followed a meeting between the two Governors, Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, and Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia.

On February 21 the Nyasaland Government revealed that three Africans were wounded when police opened fire to disperse crowds attacking a police escort of six Europeans.

Sir Roy Welensky declared that he would use "the most rigorous methods legally at our command" to maintain law in the territory. On February 23 he announced that because of continuing unrest in Nyasaland, he was calling out Territorial forces for duty in Southern Rhodesia. *The Times* (February 26) pointed out that all the military forces were under the control of the Federal Government. "Police forces, on the other hand, are organized and controlled on a territorial basis." The following figures were given for the police: Southern Rhodesia—Europeans 1,234; Africans 2,758. Northern Rhodesia—European officers 612; African policemen 3,526. Nyasaland—European officers 109; African policemen 1,613; Asian policemen 2.

Sir Roy said that the South African Government was helping the Rhodesian Air Force by giving it facilities for preparing machine gun ammunition for use in aircraft. (*Daily Mirror*, February 27.)

On February 24 military forces were first used in Nyasaland, against African rioters at Lilongwe. Soldiers opened fire and planes dropped tear gas. An African was killed and two were wounded. The following day, troops were flown by the Southern Rhodesian Government to Kariba, where a strike of African underground workers (who were demanding "danger" money, after the death of seventeen men) spread to the entire African labour force.

On February 26 a State of Emergency was declared in Southern Rhodesia: police reserves there were called up; and the arrest of leaders of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress was announced. All four A.N.C.s were declared illegal (S.R., Nyasaland, N.R. and Zambia). On the same day the Kariba strike was declared to be over.

On February 27 it was learned that Guy Clutton-Brock, John Mutasa, and others of St. Faith's Mission Farm were amongst the 400 members of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress who had been detained.

Meanwhile Nyasaland Government spokesmen maintained that there was no question of a situation requiring a state of emergency in the Protectorate and official spokesmen for Northern Rhodesia said the territory was completely normal.

In Nyasaland the pattern of the disturbances, which occurred particularly in the north, now took the shape of crowds attempting to free prisoners—mainly men who had been sentenced for organizing meetings without permission, or for their part in the riots and blocking of roads.

On February 28 the Federal Ministry of Defence announced the call-up of Northern Rhodesian Territorial Forces. Southern Rhodesian troops were requested by the Governor of Nyasaland, and police from Tanganyika occupied Fort Hill and cleared the airfield.

In London it was announced that the Minister of State for the Colonies, Lord Perth, had postponed his proposed visit to Nyasaland. Thus the long-overdue discussion of constitutional changes was further delayed.

On March 3 Mr. J. Stonehouse, M.P. (Labour), was arrested and deported, although the Governor of Nyasaland was ready to receive him.

On March 2 the Governor of Nyasaland told a press conference that no state of emergency was needed there and that the situation in the north was quiet; but on the following morning a State of Emergency was declared and Dr. Hastings Banda, President-General of the Nyasaland African Congress, and a number of other Congress leaders were arrested at dawn.

By the next day, when the issue was debated in both Houses of Parliament in Britain, there had been serious rioting in protest against the arrests, and three Africans had been killed when security forces fired on crowds.

In London, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, said that the Government of Nyasaland had evidence that a massacre was being planned by the Nyasaland Congress. He was not in a position to disclose its source.

Meanwhile, in Northern Rhodesia, preparations were being made for the elections on March 20. On March 12 the leaders of the Zambia African National Congress, including Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, were arrested and detained, on the grounds that they were using violence and witchcraft to induce Africans to boycott the elections.

By March 20 some one thousand leaders and members of the Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia and Zambia African National Congresses, had been detained, some of them, including Dr. Banda, having been flown to Southern Rhodesia, to be imprisoned there. A detention camp had been built near Blantyre in Nyasaland. The disturbances continued in Nyasaland. The Colonial Secretary announced that forty-four Africans had been killed and seventy wounded by security forces. Rioters had injured thirty-nine civilians and members of the security forces.

Sir Roy Welensky alleged on March 10 that the Nyasaland Congress had had talks with Russian delegates at the Accra Conference—he added in a television interview that he knew what had been discussed—and out of this had come the plan for the disturbances.

Critics of the policies followed in Central Africa ranged from missionaries on the spot to members of the Governments of India and Ghana, and included many of the leading newspapers in Britain and in South Africa. Correspondence in the columns of the *London Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Scotsman*, among other papers, revealed grave disquiet at the situation, and the position of the two British Protectorates, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, within the Federation. In Parliament,

the Labour Party and the Liberal Party strenuously questioned the Ministers concerned, and there were increasing demands for an impartial Commission of Inquiry to go immediately to Central Africa. Public meetings, including three overflow meetings organized by the Africa Bureau in London, and public demonstrations were held in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Oxford, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and other centres.

Reactions to the Crisis

Commenting on the disorders, the Executive of the Africa Bureau said, on February 26, that the situation in Nyasaland could not be settled by the use of military force. What was required was a realistic and enlightened political settlement. While no government could tolerate lawlessness, the drafting of troops from other Federal territories was not likely to create a state of tranquillity. The banning of the African Congresses in Southern Rhodesia and the arrest of all their leaders was a panic action which could only lead to further trouble. There could be no dispute about the fundamental causes of the present difficulties: these were Nyasaland's opposition to federation, the six months' delay over the new Nyasaland constitution and the unsatisfactory territorial constitution recently imposed on Northern Rhodesia, and above all, the fear of what British government policy would be in 1960 when the constitution of the Federation would be reviewed.

The statement concluded: "The militant demand by Sir Roy Welensky's government for independence for the Federation in 1960 has caused widespread dismay and fears among Africans in Central Africa. The absence of a clearly stated British policy in reply to Sir Roy Welensky's campaign has contributed to the deterioration in race relations and to political upheaval.

"All friends of Central Africa will join in counselling African and European leaders to avoid the use of force to achieve their ends. But we cannot refrain from pointing out that recent events are a warning to the five governments responsible for Central Africa that their present policies may have disastrous effects not only on the Federation itself but on wider British and African interests throughout the continent."

Miss Margery Perham asked: "(1) What moral right had we, after ruling a people for some sixty years, to force them against their will into a federation controlled by Rhodesian Europeans? (2) Was it not mainly in the interests of economy that the British Government insisted upon this inclusion? (3) Is it sedition for a people to desire to remain under the British Colonial Office? (4) How much of their remaining goodwill must be lost, how much disorder and, perhaps, bloodshed must there be, before they convince us, as the Basuto did in 1880-4, of the strength of this desire? (5) Does the British Government intend to honour its promise, already weakened by certain concessions, written in the preamble of the Federal Act that the Protectorates 'should continue under the special protection of Her Majesty, to enjoy separate governments so long as their respective peoples so desire'? (6) Upon what principle do we offer to lead towards full self-government the unready Somalis and the somewhat less unready Tanganyikans and deny this hope to the much more mature people of Nyasaland?" Miss Perham added: "It is too late to impose a political Kariba Dam upon the flood of African nationalism and it will be better in all our interests to consider these questions in 1959 rather than in 1960." (*The Times*, February 27, 1959.)

Sir Charles Waterhouse in reply said: "The moral right to include Nyasaland in the Federation rests on the moral duty to do the best we know to promote the welfare and the economic progress to the peoples and tribes in that area. Not 1 per cent of its African inhabitants have the vaguest conception of the meaning of federation and an answer given by people who do not understand a question cannot sensibly be called an expression of their will. Miss Perham's argument rests on a complete disregard both of geography and of economics. . . . Dr. Banda and his like, who have no claim whatsoever to represent the attitude of the bulk of the inhabitants, cover hard economic facts by so much soft political chatter that their hearers become persuaded that voting can be a substitute for eating. . . . Communism is on the march. Civilization must defend itself. A Nyasaland divorced from the Federation would inevitably become a Communist cell in the heart of emerging Africa." (*The Times*, March 3, 1959.)

Mr. D. G. R. Belshaw wrote: "May one ask what thought Captain

Waterhouse has given to the possibility of the Nyasa people emulating the Chagga coffee farmers, the Yorubas with their cocoa farms, or the cotton farmers of the Gezira or Buganda? . . . Such values as freedom from wage exploitation, racial equality, political representation, and the maintenance of the bonds of family and society cannot be measured in terms of income *per capita*. These are the values Captain Waterhouse ignores. His argument fails to convince that the 'present standard of life' of the Nyasa people, in this true sense, would be maintained, let alone improved, by their remaining inside the Federation."

Mr. A. K. Mayanja said: "For sixty years as a British Protectorate, Nyasaland was a viable polity, and its budget showed a surplus in the years immediately before federation was imposed. Nyasalanders may be stupid, but they are entitled to ask why Rhodesians are so anxious to impose economic advantages upon them, even at the cost of bloodshed and civil disturbances. . . . Federation was imposed upon this unwilling and unnatural partner for purely political reasons, namely, to prevent the growth of 'Gold Coasts' in the neighbourhood of Southern Rhodesia and thus perhaps threaten the enjoyment of European domination in that area. . . . The objectives of African nationalism and those of the Federation are diametrically opposed. Africans want to be and live as men in their own country; they want to move about freely without passes; to vote for their government; to eat wherever they please; and to organize their trade unions and political parties without the fear of being beaten up and jailed as European philosophy in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia appears to ordain. . . .

"In the long run there will be federations in Africa, perhaps a United States of Africa, but the condition for this is free will as expressed by freely elected governments on the basis of universal suffrage. Until that condition is fulfilled, each country must go its own way."

Mr. T. R. M. Creighton wrote: "Everyone who knows the country has been struck by the monolithic support given to Congress by Africans of all kinds, educated and uneducated, chiefs and people, even before Dr. Banda's return. A discontented and embittered Nyasaland unwillingly within Federation would be the best breeding ground for Communism in all Africa." (*The Times*, March 5, 1959.)

The Editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* (March 4, 1959) wrote: "Nyasaland is at this moment virtually a Bantu Territorial Authority on the new South African pattern. Africans are being steadily absorbed into the administration and the process of transferring power to them is taking place—by South African standards—very rapidly indeed. . . . The truth of the matter is that if partnership is failing, it is doing so because of the Whites rather than the Blacks. Nyasaland came into the Federation full of suspicions and most of what has happened since has tended to confirm those suspicions. The Federation has conducted its affairs on the basis that White interests take precedence over Black interests and there has been no hesitation about using strong-arm methods to deal with Africans during times of industrial unrest in Northern Rhodesia and political unrest in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland."

The *Observer* (March 1, 1959) said: "The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, bears a heavy responsibility, for it is his stubborn insistence on independence in 1960 which has precipitated the present crisis. But the British Government must share the blame, for it has steadfastly refused to declare itself opposed to Sir Roy's demands, even when urged to do so by senior members of the Colonial Office. It is not too late to do so now, but unfortunately the African nationalist leaders are no longer so willing to trust in British justice as they were before federation was imposed on them. One cause of the present troubles is undoubtedly their growing belief that the British Government is more easily moved by militancy than by constitutional methods.

"The only possible policy now is to retrace our steps to the point where British policy took its disastrous turning towards arbitrary action in 1953. It will not be as easy to reach a settlement, but in some respects the chances have improved. The White settlers are better informed about the true nature of African opposition and the Africans are now more prepared to take their part in negotiations.

"Moreover, the principle of federation is not necessarily invalidated, provided that the dogma of White supremacy is abandoned. The African leaders may perhaps yet be persuaded to accept some kind of federation,

if they can be assured that the territorial Governments of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia will definitely be placed in the hands of the Africans and that the Federal Parliament in Salisbury will leave the way open to an eventual majority there also. They will never accept a constitution in which the White settlers of Southern Rhodesia have the major say in the timing of political progress.

"The settlers, on the other hand, are unlikely to accept any arrangement that threatens their existing dominance in Southern Rhodesia. The starting-point for an agreement, therefore, should be the granting of internal self-government (with varying constitutions) to each of the three territories. Once the Africans felt themselves secure in the two Northern Territories and the settlers felt themselves secure in Southern Rhodesia, the difficulties of constructing an acceptable federal constitution would be lessened. The alternative is to allow each of the three territories the right of secession.

"The strongest argument for a federation in Central Africa has always been that it would bring great economic advantages to all its inhabitants. Overseas investors, it was said, would not invest in a country unless it was largely managed by White men. But this is only part of the truth. The other part is that investors require political stability."

Lord Winterton said: "It will almost certainly require compromise on both sides to reach a satisfactory solution of the problem. No British Government is in a position to force a settlement upon the present Federation if the vast majority of the European settlers are opposed to that settlement: that is the factual position, whatever the legal one may be. . . .

"Those British politicians who, in Mr. Lennox-Boyd's words, are carrying on a vendetta against the Federation, and the journalists and cartoonists who in the last few days have attacked the Federation and its Governments, would do well to realize these facts and further to remember two historic episodes in the history of our country—the Boston tea party, and the unsuccessful attempt by the Liberal Government before the 1914 war to coerce Ulster." (*Daily Telegraph*, March 5, 1959.)

Earl De La Warr said: "There is a definite limit to the interference that Rhodesians are willing to stand from home, especially at a time like this when they rightly feel themselves to be in danger. There is such a thing as White nationalism as well as Black nationalism, and both demand equal respect from the wise. Rhodesia, first under Malvern, now under Welensky, has set itself to a policy of steady liberalism: perhaps too steady for some of us, but quite definitely liberal as compared with South Africa. Britain has no better friend than Roy Welensky and no more loyal body of Commonwealth citizens than the Rhodesians." (*The Times*, March 6, 1959.)

On the same day Field-Marshal Auchinleck wrote: "The root of the matter lies in the original plan to try to unite in one whole territories so basically and unalterably diverse as Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. To me this seems to be akin to trying to mix oil and water. To persist in such an attempt for any reasons of prestige or political advantage would appear to be unrealistic and dangerous to all concerned, including the United Kingdom. Second thoughts can sometimes be best."

The Times (March 6, 1959) referring to Mr. Callaghan's proposal for an inter-party parliamentary commission said: "If it were a question of such a commission inquiring into the general situation in the Federation before the constitutional talks due to take place in 1960, that is a suggestion which has much to commend it. The questions at issue go so deep and are so wide that they cannot be dealt with purely by officials on departmental lines." It went on to say, however, that circumstances might prevent the proposal being accepted in the immediate present. It continued: "The first necessity is to restore law and order in Nyasaland. . . . Then the talks on the Nyasaland constitution should be resumed as quickly as possible. . . . As a third measure, some form of impartial commission should then be set on foot which would examine the conditions on the spot and make recommendations for 1960."

The newly constituted Central Africa Party issued a statement which said: "The troubles in Nyasaland have clearly developed from the Federal Government's attitude to dominion status. This attitude, representing an attempted breach of the Federal Constitution, has made Africans in the Northern Territories fear for their future and has thus played into the hands of the unscrupulous extremists. . . . The Party believed that a Federal Government had first to build confidence, not destroy it, and only

on that basis move forward to a higher status by general consent. When the present lawlessness had been put down, therefore, it was the duty of the Government to attempt an agreed solution with African leaders before taking further steps on the dominion status issue." (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 25, 1959.)

The Sunday Times commented: "It would be a breach of our trust to the people as a whole to give way to an agitation engineered for sectional political ends. But we should understand that the idea of 'partnership' with the White partner having authority in proportion rather to his education and wealth than to his numbers, looks less appealing to a people who can dream of unshared African power than it does to ourselves. It may well be that the future of Nyasaland lies rather with its neighbour Tanganyika, and thereby with Uganda, than with the Rhodesias. A forced and unwilling partnership is unlikely to be a success." (March 1, 1959.)

The New Statesman said: "The present British Government has succumbed to Sir Roy's pressure.

"The Tories have let go their power of restraint over the White racialists and chosen to participate in White settler suppression of African political development. As in Cyprus, they have preferred violence to constitutional discussion. The end will be the same: they will have to negotiate with those whom they now deport. But in the meantime how many lives will be lost, and how much of the remaining faith in Britain destroyed? . . .

"Even if Nyasaland is not yet able to stand alone, it can no longer be made to remain part of the Federation; and the effects of its revolt will be immediate all over Africa, and especially in Northern Rhodesia. A fuse has been fired which will set Africa alight. The greatest event of the last decade has been the emergence of an independent Asia: the centre of the world's struggle will now be in Africa. We can only speculate whether the Commonwealth will survive in Africa, whether, during the long, confused struggle ahead, any remnant will remain of the Western ideals which still have a valuable, even if a tenuous hold, among educated Africans everywhere." (March 6, 1959.)

The Daily Mirror called on the Government to (1) send a top Minister to Nyasaland at once. (2) Instruct this Minister to hammer out a new constitution in agreement with Dr. Hastings Banda and other Nyasaland African leaders. This constitution should set Nyasaland firmly on the road to self-government and equal voting rights for all. (3) State clearly now that Nyasaland has the right to leave the Central African Federation, if that is what the majority of Nyasalanders eventually decide. Let there be no nonsense about Nyasaland Africans being too backward to choose their own future. This argument holds no water now that millions of other Africans have achieved independence. Only a new deal based on equality can bring peace to Central Africa. (March 5, 1959.)

Dr. Roland Oliver said: "The Nyasalanders want to be separate, and in due course to govern themselves. How keen, one would like to know, are the Governments of Southern and Northern Rhodesia to stop them doing so? Are they in fact just holding a baby which we abandoned on their doorstep in order to save ourselves the cost of its upbringing? If so, is it not possible that all parties to the federal arrangement might now agree that there would be more chance of a peaceful future in all Central Africa if Nyasaland could have a fresh start under the undivided responsibility of the Colonial Office?" (*Daily Telegraph*, March 3, 1959.)

The Manchester Guardian in editorials stated: "At the very least it seems likely that the trouble in Nyasaland has been aggravated by the actions of Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead, which can only have intensified the African fear that real power has passed into the hands of the settlers. . . . Whatever chance there was that British opinion would consent to full independence for the Federation in 1960 must now be rapidly receding. . . .

"The tragedy of the Federation has been its unwillingness to offer any assured political future to the Africans; partnership has remained but a word. Britain has erred too by its slowness in granting constitutional reform to Nyasaland. If the Africans there and in Northern Rhodesia were now to be offered a firm time-table for achieving territorial self-government they might still be induced to agree to the retention of the Federation. It is a slender hope, but perhaps the only one." (March 4 and 6, 1959.)

The Spectator said: "If Nyasaland is to avoid the evils of revolution and long-term violence, three things are necessary. First, the abandonment by

the Federal and British Governments of the idea that the Federation is inviolable and secession impossible; second, a round-table conference between representatives of the British and Federal Governments and of Congress, including Dr. Banda, to consider what can be done; third, a thorough investigation of the means by which a referendum might be held to establish the real wishes of all inhabitants of the country as regards its future." (February 27, 1959.)

Mr. M. W. Kanyama Chiume wrote (*The Times*, March 18, 1959): "Now that there is the possibility of a commission of inquiry to visit Nyasaland, it is vital to its success that it should consist of members whom the Africans will trust, that is, capable of carrying out an independent and objective inquiry into the problems of the country. A commission consisting of men who have expressed reactionary views or who by their past record in colonial territories forfeited the trust of Africans will inspire no confidence. It must moreover be emphasized that a commission like this one cannot carry out its functions properly unless troops are withdrawn immediately, the emergency lifted and the leaders free to give evidence. If these conditions can be fulfilled the proper atmosphere will be created for the success of the commission."

The following letter appeared: "We the undersigned call upon the Government to carry out their obligations towards the Protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland by appointing a commission to inquire into the recent disturbances. Our duty towards these Protectorates must not be a Party question. We appeal to the Government to act swiftly to prevent further deterioration and to inspire confidence in British justice." It was signed by Lord Altrincham; Lady Violet Bonham Carter; Lord Boothby; Sir Maurice Bowra; Col. Frank Byers; Sir Jock Campbell; the Rev. James W. C. Dougall; Arthur Gaitskell; Ian Gilmour; Sir Kenneth G. Grubb; General L. O. Lyne; the Bishop of Peterborough; Lady Ravensdale; Lord Rea; and the Rev. Michael Scott. (*The Times*, March 19, 1959.)

Sir Vincent Tewson, general secretary of the T.U.C., issued a statement from the General Council on behalf of British trade unionists, expressing "deep concern and distress" at the course of events in Nyasaland. Whatever the immediate causes of the present disturbances might be, the statement said, the General Council believed that there was a deep underlying sense of injustice among Africans in Nyasaland. For this, the British Government must accept some responsibility in view of the imposition of Federation in 1953. The statement called for a commission of inquiry to be sent to investigate the causes of the disturbances and urged that all concerned should cease the use of violence.

A resolution sent to Mr. Lennox-Boyd by the council of the Baptist Union maintained that the only hope lies in building a constructive partnership of the races. It urges the Government to "honour its promises to safeguard African and Asian rights and interests in the Central African Federation". (*Manchester Guardian*, March 12, 1959.)

The Liberal Party of South Africa asked Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, to repudiate "unfounded allegations" that plans for the disturbances in Nyasaland were made at the Accra conference. The Party sent him a telegram saying: "Liberal Party strongly denies allegations that 'plans laid at Accra Conference'. Party was represented there by team of three including two Whites and their report stresses non-violence as main theme of conference and emphasizes absence of anti-Whiteism. Party urges you repudiate unfounded allegations, and that you look for the root causes of discontent rather than seek convenient scapegoat on which to pin blame." (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 12, 1959.)

John Stonehouse, M.P., Deported

On March 3, Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P. (Labour), who was visiting Northern Rhodesia, was deported from Lusaka, being compelled to board a plane flying to Dar-es-Salaam.

The incidents that led to his deportation by the Federal authorities arose during his tour of the Rhodesias. In Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Stonehouse told meetings of the African National Congress: "You must work for your rights in peace and then you will be much more likely to have the rest of the world behind you. Your slogan should be: 'Work hard, educate yourselves, and organize.' Use the right way and you will win. If you use the wrong way you will be giving the most powerful weapons to those

people who do not want to achieve the same things as you do. I ask you to have pride in your country. Hold your heads high and behave as though the country belonged to you. If you behave in a way that you are ashamed of, you cannot be surprised if people who are now your friends become ashamed of you." He told Africans that if they could develop a non-racial community living in peace in Southern Rhodesia "it will have a great effect on your brothers in South Africa", and appealed to them not to use force on the grounds that it "would only invite the full force of power to come down on your shoulders and put the clock back five years".

His speech provoked protests from European leaders. Mr. Winston Field, leader of the Dominion Party, said: "I consider it the most disgraceful thing I have ever known that any Member of the British Parliament should come to this country and preach open sedition—which is what it amounts to. What would Members of the British Parliament think if we went to England and addressed an extremist meeting of Communists in the same vein?" It was inciting the people to civil disobedience: he described Mr. Stonehouse as a "peddler of mischief" who spoke "fiery words" to "inflame his listeners".

Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, advised Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, that he considered the visit of Mr. Stonehouse to be "inopportune" and that he would be glad if "appropriate action" were taken. Sir Edgar added that he doubted whether there was sufficient evidence in the possession of the Federal Government to warrant them going to the extreme length of declaring a Member of the House of Commons a prohibited immigrant. He was replying to a series of questions in the Rhodesian Parliament asking for the deportation of Mr. Stonehouse, the prevention of any visiting overseas European from attending Congress meetings and for legislation to ban Congress. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 23, 24, 25, and 26, 1959.)

Sir Malcolm Barrow, Federal Minister for Home Affairs, served on Mr. Stonehouse a notice to leave the Federation within twenty-four hours in the interest of his own and the public's safety. Mr. Stonehouse refused to accept this notice and said: "I do not intend to recognize the authority of a Federal prohibition order over a British Member of Parliament in a territory directly responsible to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the British Parliament." Sir Malcolm Barrow described his statement as "provocative and insolent". (*The Times*, March 2, 1959.)

The Governor of Nyasaland announced that he would be prepared to give all facilities to Mr. Stonehouse on a visit to Nyasaland. The Rhodesian Federal Government's declaration that Mr. Stonehouse was a prohibited immigrant had nothing to do with him, he said, and he had not been consulted. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 3, 1959.)

On his return to London, Mr. Stonehouse made a personal statement to the House of Commons. He said that he had been pursuing a programme prepared for him by the Northern Rhodesian Government "without a hitch" when on February 28 he was visited by the Chief Immigration Officer of the Federation, Mr. J. Wood, who read a statement to the effect that as the Federal Authorities could not guarantee his personal safety he should leave the Federation within twenty-four hours. He replied that he would consult the Governor and the Chief Immigration Officer then said: "If you do not accept this warning, I have authority here to declare you a prohibited immigrant." This he refused to do and was "forcibly" deported.

Doubts About the Future

The Synod of the Methodist Church of Southern Rhodesia unanimously resolved that "the Synod is convinced that the Governments concerned are morally and legally bound by the conditions explicit in the preamble to the Constitution and implicit in the protectorate status of Barotseland and Nyasaland to ensure that no final steps to independence be taken until the inhabitants of the territories, expressing themselves through acceptable and reliable channels, are known to desire it." (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 14, 1959.)

Mr. Ray Stockil, who had been leader of the Opposition in the Southern Rhodesia Parliament from 1948, on resigning (because he could do more good for Southern Rhodesia in helping to develop the lowveld in the Fort Victoria area than by leading the Dominion Party in the Assembly) said: "I feel there are a lot of important decisions to be made in the near future. But to a great extent federation has already proved a failure. Southern

Rhodesia, in particular, is being asked to sacrifice more and more. The determined attitude of the British Government, whether Conservative or Labour, to liquidate what is left of the Empire disturbs me profoundly."

Commenting on the Dominion Party's proposals for a Central African Alliance to replace the Federal State, the *Sunday Mail* said: "We have always opposed the splitting up of the Federation, but we have done so because we believed then, as we believe now, that it can be made to work. But we could be wrong. We would, in fact, be wrong if the 1960 talks ended in deadlock and the country was left with the prospect of continuing along its present path. We are well aware that the Federation cannot arbitrarily be dismembered, but it could, for instance, lose Nyasaland by mutual agreement. Is there something particularly shocking in that? We did not want it in the first place and if it were returned to the British Government with our compliments we should be no worse off than we were before federation. There would be dangers in doing so, but there could be greater dangers in not doing so. . . ." (January 5, 1959.)

Central Africa Party

The Central Africa Party was formed to operate in the federal as well as the territorial field and will uphold the political beliefs of the United Rhodesia Party which has been disbanded. It is under the leadership of Mr. Garfield Todd, former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and Sir John Moffat, who also announced his resignation as Northern Rhodesia's nominated member for African Affairs in the Federal Assembly. The C.A.P. principles are that it is necessary "to build a united nation of all our peoples under the Crown" and that to achieve this unity it is essential to remove from each race the fear that any single race might dominate for its own racial benefit. The attainment of this objective can be assured only if every inhabitant of the Rhodesian Federation has the right to progress economically, politically, and socially according to his character, qualifications, training, ability and industry without distinction of race, colour or creed. (*The Times*, February 10, 1959.)

Mr. Harry Franklin, Member for Education and Social Services in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, announced that he would be a C.A.P. candidate in the Northern Rhodesian elections and said: "We feel that too much industrial development and Northern Rhodesian revenue is going to Southern Rhodesia and that Northern Rhodesia is not getting the special attention which was promised when the Federation came into being." (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 10, 1959.)

A branch of the party was formed in Harari African Township, Salisbury. The majority of its officials and members are former executives of the local branches of the United Federal Party and United Rhodesia Party. Mr. J. R. D. Chikerema, acting president-general of the African National Congress in Southern Rhodesia, commented: "Congress has nothing to fear from an African branch of the C.A.P. We will, however, watch them carefully, not because they have any influence among the Africans, but because they are political prostitutes who must be watched and condemned." He added: "I am certain that the C.A.P. will bury itself in a few years' time and the cause of its death will be the fear the Europeans have for parties or individuals that advocate fast advancement for Africans." (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 20, 1959.)

Dominion Party Plan

Mr. Winston Field, leader of the Dominion Party, has announced his Party's plan for a Central African Alliance which would comprise the Dominion of Rhodesia—the two Rhodesias less Barotseland—under a Governor-General, and the Protectorates of Nyasaland and Barotseland under a High Commissioner appointed by the British Government. Included in the Dominion of Rhodesia would be an area in the north-east of Northern Rhodesia—the Northern Territory—which would receive special treatment. The new arrangement would be based on a treaty between H.M.G. in the United Kingdom and the Government of the Dominion of Rhodesia.

Criticizing the plan, Sir Roy Welensky said: "I was not elected as Prime Minister of our country in order to preside over the dissolution of the Federation and I have no intention of ever doing so." Racial problems "will certainly not be solved merely by calling one area White—in fact it would not be White because it would still have over three million Africans

in it—and by calling that area a Dominion; then by calling the other areas Black Protectorates. Not a single problem would be solved and some would be exacerbated. The Protectorates would be condemned to a low standard of living, whereas the very crux of the problem of almost the entire African continent is the urgent need to raise standards of living, which if you succeed in doing so could only benefit all races, Black and White.

"Industries would be attracted to the cheap labour of the Protectorates, to the detriment of the White Dominion. Unrest would infiltrate across the borders of the Protectorates into the Dominion even more rapidly than it is now doing."

The *Rhodesia Herald* asked: "What the White man in Africa is entitled to know is whether Britain and the United States are prepared to sacrifice him in the belief that peaceful co-existence between Black and White is not practical and that in the long run Africans will dominate and govern the whole continent." (January 29, 1959.) Sir Roy Welensky replied: "It may well be that there will, in time, emerge a line of demarcation across the breadth of the continent, north of which the concept of the multi-racial society will not predominate, but south of which the concept of multi-racial society will be the rule rather than the exception. It is my personal belief that for the good of the African communities themselves and for the good of the Western world, it would be as well for the people of every country on the African continent to aim high when it comes to standards." (*Federation Newsletter*, February 6, 1959.)

African Advancement

A Special Correspondent of the *Times Educational Supplement* reviewed the changes in African city life under the heading "Central Africa Maelstrom", and pointed out that in the African township of Harari outside Salisbury there are 16,000 African male adults, and 4,000 women and 13,000 children. It is an ill-balanced population, and the municipal authorities have to make gallant attempts to deal with housing and morals which change daily. But an even more concentrated aspect of this revolution is seen in the Copper Belt area. . . . The latest houses in the townships with electric light, running water, inside sanitation, and gardens would be the envy of some cottagers in darkest Britain. But the picture which many Africans have in their minds is of the African working side by side with a European in the burning heat of the copper smelter—one at £2,000 and himself at £200 a year, one with a handsome house furnished and provided, and himself in the location in one of those rows of concrete and corrugated asbestos. The comparison may be unfair to the White man to whose skill and risk the whole edifice of life in an area like the Copper Belt is entirely indebted. But the African cannot wait for the gentler and more cultured processes of fair play and comparison to operate. He is in the midst of his revolution, and the White man is caught up in it with him, and revolutions are no respecters of persons. . . .

The management of one copper mine recently defined its "African Advancement" programme as meaning "the replacement of unquestioning African obedience to the European, which he is rapidly losing, by a system of discipline and opportunity which is demonstrably fair and just and which treats him as an 'individual' ". The writer said it was this last word that mattered most to Africans at the moment, to be treated as an "individual" and not as a "boy", to be thought of as a "person" and not as "native", to be held in respect as a "worker" and not as a number in a "labour force". (March 6, 1959.)

Mr. J. P. Murray, senior provincial commissioner, emphasized in his report on the Western Province that many Copper Belt Africans are urban in outlook and interests. "Not only are there such grown men and women, but with a second generation coming forward it is possible to find children who do not even know the names of the chiefs from whose areas their grandparents came, and whose parents are only a little more knowledgeable. When and if wide-scale unemployment develops there will be a hard core who cannot rely on the traditional system of social security which tribal society affords." About 10,000 Africans were unemployed in the Province in December. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, January 29, 1959.)

University Appointment Lost

The principal of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Dr. Walter Adams, said that, by marrying a white French-Canadian girl,

Dr. Bernard Chidzero, a Southern Rhodesian African, had lost his chance of an appointment at the university. Dr. Chidzero is at present doing research at Nuffield College, Oxford, and holds a Canadian degree in political science. The *Sunday Mail* commented: "Nothing more absurd can be imagined than the recent attempt to link the decision over Dr. Bernard Chidzero with the country's policy of racial partnership. . . . If there is one thing on which the Europeans of this country and of South Africa are absolutely agreed it is that there should be no mixing of blood, now or ever. . . . Dr. Walter Adams took the only course open to him. Dr. Chidzero was quick to comment that this decision 'showed up the rottenness of the Southern Rhodesian situation' and that 'lip service is paid to what they call racial partnership'. Which merely shows that Dr. Chidzero, in spite of his academic brilliance, is grossly misinformed about public opinion in his own country. If anyone needs censure it is Dr. Chidzero, who has announced his intention of bringing his White wife to the Colony in due course." (January 11, 1959.)

Dr. Chidzero later said he was not accepting a teaching post in Basutoland which he had been offered, "because I am determined to return to Southern Rhodesia to serve my country. It would be intolerable for me to accept a job outside my own country when I have been preparing myself for years to work in my own. I have no idea when I shall return. I am still trying to find out how best I can do so."

African Whip

Mr. J. Z. Savanhu, one of the elected African members from Southern Rhodesia in the Federal Assembly, was chosen by the caucus of the United Federal Party as one of the party's three Parliamentary Whips. This is the first time that an African has been made a Whip. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 7, 1959.)

Education

The total student body at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is 169, including thirty-three African men, two African women and one Indian man. The halls of residence will this year for the first time be fully multi-racial.

Africans secured a higher proportion of successes in the Cambridge school certificate examination in Northern Rhodesia than did European boys and girls. Out of the 321 who entered, 259 European children obtained their certificate—nearly one-third failed. From the African schools 130 entered and ten failed—less than 10 per cent. A Northern Rhodesia education officer said: "Parents should be made aware of what is one of the greatest social problems of this time: the meeting in competition on the labour market of the European youth of low I.Q. and the advancing African." Another Government spokesman said: "Though Africans did get a higher proportion of passes it must be remembered that there are so few secondary schools for African children that only the very best get in." (*Federation Newsletter*, March 13, 1959.)

Northern Rhodesia

Clashes and Arrests

Two Africans were reported killed and two Europeans injured in a clash on Chilubi Island, North Province. Sixty people were arrested. Other disturbances, including the burning of buildings were reported. (*The Times*, March 18, 1959.)

The *Daily Mail* reported the arrest of ten members of the African National Congress at Mwinilunga. Trouble started when a Congress leader was released after six weeks' detention. More than one hundred Africans carrying anti-European slogans demonstrated. (March 10, 1959.)

No Emergency

The Governor in Council announced: "The Government of Northern Rhodesia has been keeping the security situation in the territory under close and constant review in the light of all known factors including the situation in Nyasaland and the reasons for the declaration of a state of emergency in Southern Rhodesia. The Government has sufficient powers under its ordinary laws to ensure the public safety against anything now

threatening in this territory and the need to declare a state of emergency does not therefore at present arise."

The Chief Secretary, Mr. E. D. Hone, said that there was no reason to believe that there was any marked degree of sympathy in Northern Rhodesia for the actions of the trouble makers in Nyasaland. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 27, 1959.)

The *Manchester Guardian* (February 28, 1959) commenting on the imminent election said: "The United Federal Party's candidates will now unquestionably follow the lead of Sir Roy Welensky's Federal Government and of the Southern Rhodesian Government in insisting that, if these two Governments consider the situation grave enough for the call-up of troops, the declaration of a state of emergency, the outlawing of the African Congress, and the arrest of its leading members in Southern Rhodesia, then similar action ought to be taken in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This is precisely the kind of issue which guarantees electoral victory in the franchise conditions which now apply in Northern Rhodesia."

"The great majority of the European voters are presently in a state of nerves, and, perhaps understandably, they are critical of the 'no need to worry' attitude of the authorities in their territories when it is contrasted with the 'let's-do-it-now' vigour shown by the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments."

Congress Policy

The President of the Zambia African National Congress, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, said that when he spoke to a police officer about holding a meeting the officer accused Zambia of planning violence. Zambia's policy for 1959, added Mr. Kaunda, was to warn the Government three times on an issue that might be contentious and then to take action: "There is then no limit on what we are able to do. Whatever the consequences, we are prepared to pay the price of freedom in this country. Zambia may be banned, public meetings may be banned, but the spirit of Zambia will march on until independence is obtained." Mr. Kaunda said the Union Jack in Britain represented democracy, but in Northern Rhodesia it meant suppression, oppression and subjugation. "I shall not rest until that flag is pulled down and something better is put there," he said. (*Pretoria News*, February 16, 1959.)

On his return from Ghana in January, Mr. Kaunda released the text of an agreement signed by Mr. Harry Nkumbula, on behalf of the A.N.C., Mr. Joshua Nkomo (Southern Rhodesia A.N.C.), Mr. Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia A.N.C.), Mr. Gordon Chindele (Northern Rhodesia T.U.C.), and Dr. Hastings Banda (Nyasaland A.N.C.). It said: "We, the representatives and leaders of organizations in our countries, do here in Accra, December 18, 1958, declare that we are unalterably opposed to the Central African Federation, a fraudulent and bogus scheme imposed on us by the British Imperialist Government. On this issue we are all united. We have therefore agreed among ourselves to use this unity of purpose to establish a broad-based united front linking up the various anti-colonialist organizations in our respective countries and also to co-ordinate our activities with those in East Africa to win self-government and national independence for our peoples now."

Mr. Kaunda also said that he and Mr. Nkumbula, leader of the Northern Rhodesia Congress, were still "political enemies" but that he had "forgotten about him". At Lusaka, Mr. Kaunda said he did not think he should attack Mr. Nkumbula: his battle was not against him but against the Federal and Territorial Governments. He added that Zambia would oppose African registration on the Northern Rhodesia voters' roll because it was "worse than the federal voters' roll".

Following protests by European members of the Legislative Council, Mr. Kaunda sent a telegram to the Colonial Secretary saying: "Settlers urge Government precipitate serious situation here. Africans greatly perturbed. Anything serious, Zambia blameless, Zambia completely non-violent but unalterably opposes present constitution. Promptly send Constitution Commission." (*Federation Newsletter*, January 30 and February 27, 1959.)

Zambia Congress Banned

In a broadcast banning the Zambia African National Congress, the Governor, Sir Arthur Benson, said: "I have not declared a state of

emergency. . . . Under the Societies Ordinance I have declared the Zambia African National Congress and all its branches illegal societies. . . . Let all people know that as from now the Government will not tolerate any longer any Zambia organization or any Zambia activities whatsoever. . . . The leaders of the Zambia African National Congress have been served with restriction orders of such a nature that no meetings can take place. They are, indeed, now on their way to places where they cannot meet or continue their plotting. While on their way there they are in lawful custody."

Sir Arthur ~~replied~~ to the Accra conference and said one resolution was of special significance. "In the past African political leaders have announced that they intend in trying to achieve their political and other aims to follow a policy of strict non-violence. The Accra conference varied this. They said in effect that if they found it difficult to achieve their aims, even by civil disobedience, they could use violence against any legitimate force used by the authorities against them. In other words, if it was impossible to achieve their aims without violence, then violence might be used." He said Mr. H. Nkumbula of the Northern Rhodesia A.N.C. disagreed with certain things and left the conference early. He said that Zambia had indulged in intimidation and had deliberately continued its plan, by spreading uncertainty and fear, to prevent registered African voters from exercising their newly-won right: its action was on all fours with the Chicago racketeers, who "established their protection rackets, corrupted the local governments, ruled by the gun, the sap, the knuckle-duster, the bicycle chain, and went on to establish the organization of killers known as 'Murder Incorporated'".

The Governor said he had information that made it crystal clear that what was to happen in Nyasaland would form the pattern for events in Northern Rhodesia if Zambia ever became strong enough, but it was not strong enough yet. . . .

Leaders who had been conveyed to tribal areas in which their movements were restricted included Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the president, Mr. M. Sipalo, the secretary-general, and Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, the treasurer-general.

Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, president of the Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers' Union, said: "No statesman could have acted in a more sensible manner than the Governor in his bold action to combat the lawless group of men whose plans of violence could be described as nothing but evil."

Mr. S. Chileshe, member of the Legislative Council that was recently dissolved, said in an interview: "The statement by His Excellency the Governor has revealed many things about the Zambia African National Congress. It is a sad thing. It is true all leading Africans share the demand for greater participation in politics. But only a very small section of the people approve of gangster methods to increase participation in politics. If such ruthless acts were to be used later the Government is justified in protecting the people." (*N.R. Press Communiqué* No. 100, 102, 108, March 12, 1959.)

The New Constitution

Speaking in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, Sir Arthur Benson, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, said that generally speaking all races in Northern Rhodesia had accepted the new constitution and were determined to make it work. "The Zambia National Congress has few supporters and they represent the extremists of the old African National Congress and have changed its nature. The African National Congress is helping and supporting the new constitution." He said that the vast majority of Africans in Northern Rhodesia were not opposed to Federation, but they would oppose any suggestion to remove them from the protection of the British Government until they were ready for it.

Fifty-four candidates contested the election on March 20, 1959. In addition two U.F.P. candidates have been returned unopposed. There were no valid nominations for two of the "special" constituencies. In the Copperbelt African Reserved constituency, Mr. P. Sokota (present M.L.C.) is opposed by Mr. L. C. Katilungu and two other candidates: in the S. Central African Reserved constituency Mr. S. H. Chileshe (present M.L.C.) is opposed by Mr. H. Habanyama (C.A.P.) and two others: in the S. Western Special Constituency Mr. R. M. Nabulyato

(present M.L.C.) is opposed by Mr. H. Nkumbula (Congress). Sir John Moffat (C.A.P.) has a straight fight against a U.F.P. opponent in the E. Rural Reserved European Constituency and so does Mr. H. Franklin (C.A.P.) in the W. Rural Reserved European. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 28, 1959.)

The number of registered voters are:

	Ordinary voters		Special voters	
	Africans	Others	Africans	Others
In ordinary constituencies	373	21,134	3,289	11
In special constituencies	423	1,458	3,532	14
Total	796	22,592	6,821	25

The total enrolled is 30,234 of whom 7,617 are Africans. (*Federal Newsletter*, February 20, 1957.)

Appeal to Privy Council

Before Lord Somervell of Harrow, Lord Denning, and the Rt. Hon. L. M. D. de Silva, their Lordships granted the petition by Mr. Edward Liso Mungoni, of Northern Rhodesia, for special leave to appeal *in forma pauperis* from a judgement of the Federal Supreme Court of Rhodesia and Nyasaland given at Salisbury on September 10, 1958, which, in effect, held that the arrest and detention of the petitioner under an order of the Provincial Commissioner was valid.

The petition, which, it was stated, was not opposed, and is the first to come to the Board from the Federal Court of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, stated that on September 16, 1956, at Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, the petitioner and fifty-three others were arrested by the police and by order of the Provincial Commissioner were detained in custody under prison conditions until November 29, 1956, when they were released as a result of *habeas corpus* proceedings. The fifty-four persons then sought compensation for wrongful arrest and imprisonment. On the refusal by the Government of Northern Rhodesia to meet their claim, a test case was brought by the petitioners against the Attorney-General of Northern Rhodesia and he was awarded £25 as general damages. An appeal by the Attorney-General from that decision to the Federal Supreme Court was allowed, and it was against the Federal Court's judgement that the petitioner now sought leave to appeal. (*The Times*, March 3, 1959.)

Sentences for Derailment

Chisenga Felix Commando, an African, was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment at Lusaka for his part in the derailment of an engine and nine wagons of a mixed mail train in a cutting in September, 1958. Two other Africans found guilty in connexion with the incident were sentenced to three years' and one year's imprisonment respectively. According to the evidence of one of the other accused, Commando had previously received a reward for giving information leading to the arrest of Africans implicated in the derailment of another train. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 25, 1959.)

Inter-Racial Sport

The annual meeting of the Northern Rhodesia Amateur Athletic and Cycling Association unanimously accepted the affiliation of the Northern Rhodesia African Football and Athletic Association. This means that Africans will be able to compete at the Northern Rhodesia and the Federal athletic championships for the first time this year.

The president, Mr. George Crane, said that African athletes would be treated with the same respect as Europeans. There would be no discrimination except in social matters. European athletes would not be expected to share changing rooms with Africans. (*Pretoria News*, February 16, 1959.)

Nyasaland

State of Emergency

At midnight on March 2/3, 1959, the Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, declared a State of Emergency.

This followed a long series of incidents. Towards the end of January arrests of Africans were reported from Zomba, Blantyre, and Limbe: in some incidents tear gas was used by the police. Six arrests and the use of tear gas were also reported from a village near Mlanje. (*The Times*, February 2, 1959.)

At Lilongwe two European officers and a veterinary assistant, due to give evidence in court, were injured by a crowd. Thirty arrests were made. (*The Times*, February 13, 1959, and *Nyasaland Press Release*, February 17, 1959.)

A1 160 students at the Dutch Reformed Church Mission School, Mkhoma, were expelled following a five-day strike and disorders. (*Nyasaland P.R.*, February 14, 1959.)

Trouble was also reported from Karonga in the north and thirty-five arrests were made after tear gas and batons were used in Kota Kota. (*N.P.R.*, February 17, 1959.) Eighteen arrests were made at Ncheu. Several of the incidents occurred outside courts where members of the Nyasaland African National Congress were being tried for convening or holding meetings and processions without permission. (*N.P.R.*, February 19, 1959.)

Further trouble broke out at Karonga and Fort Hill in the north. The Nyasaland Government stated that there was planned civil disobedience which has taken the form of illegal meetings and unlawful assemblies in a number of places widely scattered throughout the territory but particularly in the Northern Province where the Nyasaland African Congress branches are most numerous.

Troops opened fire at Fort Hill and wounded six Africans.

Sir Roy Welensky, issued a statement saying it was his intention to use "the most rigorous methods legally at our command. The Federal Government will back the Territorial Governments to the hilt in their moves to maintain law and order." (*Rhodesia Sunday Mail*, February 22, 1959.)

In Blantyre at a Nyasaland African Congress meeting Mr. H. B. Chipembere told a crowd of 700 that the Africans would fight on in spite of the "shooting at Karonga". Royal Rhodesian Air Force spotter aircraft, carrying anti-personnel bombs, flew over the Southern Province, but low cloud hindered them. One African was killed, at least sixty injured and thirty arrested in clashes with police and troops. (*The Times*, *Daily Telegraph* and *Rhodesia Herald*, February 23, 1959.)

The *Pretoria News* reported: "Despite the tense atmosphere, churches were attended normally and most sporting fixtures took place according to plan. Within a mile of the scene of the riots a crowd of Europeans, Asians and Natives watched a football match between two European teams, the Native spectators enthusiastically cheering the side they favoured. While the disturbances were at their peak yesterday evening, groups of people chatted unconcernedly in the hotel bar and the smiling waiters went about their business as though nothing unusual were happening a few blocks away." (February 23, 1959.)

Troops of the King's African Rifles opened fire at Lilongwe and a Royal Rhodesian Air Force plane dropped tear-gas bombs. Two men were reported dead and one injured. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 25 and 26, 1959.) In other incidents an African policeman was stabbed. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 26, 1959.)

After the declaration of Emergency on March 3, a number of Africans were killed including twenty at Nkata Bay when crowds attempted to release prisoners detained under the emergency regulations. Many hundreds of Africans were arrested including Dr. Banda, Mr. Chipembere and other leaders and members of the African National Congress. The Congress and the Women's and Youth Leagues were outlawed. A curfew was imposed in Blantyre and Limbe. Crowds were reported to be using stones and sticks and to be setting fire to buildings. The *Observer* reported thirty-nine Africans killed in four days and 249 detainees in jail. (March 8, 1959.)

Congress Leaders' Comments

Before his arrest, Dr. H. K. Banda, president of the Nyasaland African National Congress, spoke of the new Constitution and said that there would always be some European members of the Legislative Council and in any Government formed under the Congress plan, there would almost certainly be Europeans in the Government holding portfolios such as Finance and Commerce, for which they were particularly suited. He would outline to Lord Perth the Congress demands for an African majority in

both the Legislative and Executive Councils. Congress would also demand that all the nominated official members of the Council should disappear with the exception of the Chief Secretary, the Financial Secretary and the Attorney-General.

He said Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, was moving troops into Nyasaland because he wanted to have a show-down. "But in the end your soldiers and police can never solve a political problem, and that is what this is. There are quite enough police in Nyasaland already to deal with any genuine troubles, but somebody in Zomba is pandering to Sir Roy."

At a Congress meeting Mr. H. B. Chipembere, a member of the Legislative Council, said that every European was the enemy of every African in Nyasaland.

The retiring provincial chairman, Mr. Gilbert Kumtumanje, said: "We are not afraid, although they bring the military forces from Cyprus, Kenya and Malaya with machine-guns, the atomic bomb and even the hydrogen bomb. They can bring Nato troops if they like, but we will go ahead until we get out of the Federation and rule ourselves with Kazumu [Banda] as prime minister. We are prepared to offer our lives for that."

Dr. Banda also said: "The people are determined to get out of the Federation. We always knew the people of Rhodesia were determined to dominate Nyasaland and Sir Roy Welensky's sending of troops confirms it. They stop nothing by arresting me. Nyasaland is now awake. Whether I am dead, alive or in jail, Nyasaland is awake." He did not believe in violence and was not anti-White. "I never was and never will be," he said. "We have no intention of driving the Europeans out of Nyasaland, but we definitely are against domination. We have no intention of confiscating estates. Europeans and Africans are complementary, but there must be true partnership." He added that partnership, as practised in the Federation, was "false and we are not going to have that". (*Pretoria News*, February 23 and 28, 1959.)

Mr. N. D. Kwenje, M.L.C., in a statement on behalf of Mr. J. R. N. Chinyama, senior African Member in the Legislative Council, African chiefs and all responsible Africans said the rioting was a sign of the Africans' frustration at federation. Mr. Kwenje said he did not blame Dr. Banda for the use of violence. When he returned to Nyasaland, Dr. Banda had said the only way to achieve self-government was through constitutional methods.

In a letter to *Tribune* Dr. Banda said: "It is Welensky [Federation Premier] not Armitage [Nyasaland Governor] who is responsible for the coming of the troops. They are not in any way necessary. Everything is being deliberately exaggerated to suit the settlers, who have been talking of a show-down for some time now, specially since the Accra conference. There is a rumour that I am to be arrested any time now. Well, I am ready, but I shudder at the consequences. What the settlers do not know is that I am the main restraining influence here. There is no panic among Africans. The only people who show panic are the Europeans."

Government White Paper¹

On March 23 a White Paper was published in London, comprising the Governor's dispatch to the Secretary of State which dealt with events leading up to the declaration of a State of Emergency in Nyasaland.

The Governor said that after 1953 and until the return of Dr. Hastings Banda, the Congress behaved and was treated as an ordinary political party pursuing its main aim of secession from the Federation through constitutional means.

In July 1958 with the return of Dr. Banda a new period began. Dr. Banda, he pointed out, had been absent from Nyasaland for over thirty years, and had spent the last five years in Ghana. Before he returned Congress leaders spent several months representing him to the people as the "powerful messiah-like figure in the background who at the appropriate moment would arrive to lead them". Having returned Dr. Banda made it plain that he intended forcing upon the British Government "immediately and uncompromisingly the Congress aims of African self-government (based on universal suffrage) and secession from the Federation".

The Governor continued: "Dr. Banda made it clear . . . in his talks with Government officials that he was not prepared to compromise. . . .

¹H.M.S.O. Cmd. 707, price 9d.

As early as August Dr. Banda was publicly threatening members of the police who attended his meetings with victimization when self-government was achieved, and considerable intimidation of his African political opponents took place. Agricultural legislation designed to increase the productivity of African land holdings by soil conservation and other measures came under attack by Congress and Dr. Banda said that with self-government irksome legislation would be abolished." The Governor said that his attitude to Asians was made clear when he threatened that if the Asians continued to try and obtain a share in the government of the country Africans would boycott Asian stores.

A letter, which it is stated Dr. Banda wrote to another Congress leader referring to riots in October, is quoted as follows: "You have heard about the riots. I have set Blantyre and Zomba on fire. I hope soon to set the whole of Nyasaland on fire."

The Governor states that another period in the development of Congress's campaign began after Dr. Banda returned from the Accra conference on December 20. After quoting the conference's resolution in support of "all fighters for freedom in Africa" who resort to "peaceful means of non-violence and civil disobedience as well as to all those who are compelled to retaliate against violence to attain . . . freedom . . .", the Governor states that it is known that this resolution in fact represented a compromise between the concept of "non-violent" positive action advocated by some and the demand for the positive use of violence put forward by others. He continued: "Dr. Banda, while continuing to say he was still against violence, adopted a belligerent attitude at the first meeting held in Nyasaland after his return. He said he had not brought self-government back from Ghana but that people would have to fight for it and he expected to go to prison and that thousands would follow him there."

After describing a number of "illegal" meetings which took place the Governor says that on January 25 some 140 delegates from congresses from all parts of the Federation held a secret meeting. All attending were sworn to secrecy under threat of death, and the Governor did not learn what had happened until February 13, when he was informed that the meeting had agreed that:

(i) Until the constitutional changes had been announced unlawful public meetings should be held throughout the Protectorate, but that violence should not be resorted to;

(ii) If Dr. Banda were arrested, leadership should be taken over by H. B. Chipembere, D. K. Chisiza, W. M. K. Chiume, and Mrs. Rose Chibambo. They should fix a day, to be known as "R" day, when violence would begin; and

(iii) the plan for "R" day included sabotage of communications, murder of District and Provincial Commissioners and others, and the assassination of the Governor and other senior British officers.

Commenting on these plans, the Governor said: "The essential facts are set out (here) . . . I know you (the Colonial Secretary) will agree with my view that further disclosure of the methods and sources from which this information was derived would not be in the public interest. . . ." He describes the "sabotage and violent events which took place at Karonga and Fort Hill" as indications that the plans for "R" day were already beginning to take place, and explains that he did not declare the emergency until March 3 because he had to wait until he had sufficient forces at his disposal to deal with every kind of contingency.

Sir Roy Welensky, speaking at Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, on March 10, alleged that the Nyasaland uprising plans were inspired at the Accra conference in Ghana. "I must register a protest that plans of this nature should have been evolved at a conference held in that country. I do not consider this as a friendly act to a fellow Member State of the Commonwealth." He said the Russians had a strong team at the conference and he had factual evidence that direct contact was made between the Russian representatives and certain African leaders from the Federation.

Mr. Kofi Baako, Ghana Minister of Information, denied the allegation by Sir Roy Welensky. Mr. Baako said violence had never been on the programme of either the Pan-African People's conference in December or the conference of independent African States held in Accra last April. The Convention People's Party decided to give £10,000 to the Nyasaland African National Congress to maintain the dependants of those who died

or were arrested during the riots. The general secretary of the Party, Mr. Badiako Poku, said the Party had also decided to brief four leading barristers to defend all Africans who were put on trial "on framed-up charges of committing violence". (*The Times*, March 12, 1959.)

The All African Peoples' Conference in Accra issued a statement of protest and called on all peoples, political parties, organizations and churches to demand from Her Majesty The Queen of England's Government (a) the immediate lifting of the ban on political parties in Nyasaland and Rhodesia, (b) the unconditional release of arrested African nationalists in Nyasaland and Rhodesia including Dr. Hastings Banda and (c) the appointment of an independent commission of inquiry to investigate the causes leading to the murder of thirty Africans in Nyasaland by the British Government in the territory.

John Mossman writing in the *Daily Herald* said: "Some diehard settlers told me: 'Of course there was a murder plan.' But the majority of Europeans who have been here many years say the suggestion of the Nyasas planning a Mau Mau type murder wave is ridiculous." (March 5, 1959.)

Mr. W. M. K. Chiume, M.L.C., on arrival in London on March 7, said: "The allegations about 'a massacre' are a complete fabrication to destroy the opposition to federation in Central Africa." The details of the plot, as revealed, showed how completely senseless it was, he added. "It is alleged that there were to be three stages. In the second stage there were to be disturbances. The killings were only to come in the third stage. But which colonial leader today would not know, if, indeed, he even thought of planning such a criminal idea, that police and troops would be sent in immediately the second stage of such a plan was put into effect? What chance would there have been of carrying out large-scale killings after the country had been placed under military rule? Surely the British Government does not expect anybody to believe this kind of nonsense?" (*Observer*, March 8, 1959.)

The *New Statesman* analysed the inconsistencies in the stories about the need for an emergency and asked "Had the information been available for 'some days' that a massacre was planned? If so, why was the invitation to the 'trouble-making' Mr. Stonehouse maintained and why did the Governor on March 2 deny the need for an emergency?" (March 14, 1959.)

The *Manchester Guardian* said: "Members of Parliament cannot be blamed if they continue to treat with scepticism the information given by the Colonial Secretary about events in Central Africa."

"It remains hard to answer the salient questions: Was the detention of the Congress leaders necessary? Were the police and troops themselves responsible for some of the early incidents? How can bitterness and hostility be prevented from spreading? And how can the idea of political and social partnership be revived?" (March 11, 1959.)

First-hand Witnesses

Mr. K. E. E. Brown (who has worked for over five years as an agricultural officer in the Native Agricultural Department of the Southern Rhodesia Government) wrote: "The people of Nyasaland have for the past nine or ten years consistently opposed federation by peaceful and constitutional methods. These methods have failed, and the Nyasaland Africans have now been driven to civil disobedience. That violence has occurred is to be regretted and was not the wish of Dr. Banda and the Congress, whose policy is one of non-violence; but it must be remembered that the Nyasaland people have been very patient for a very long time. The imprisonment of Dr. Banda and his colleagues means that the restraining influence has been removed. Many of us who have first-hand knowledge of things in the Federation flatly disbelieve the 'Plan of Massacre' which, it is alleged, has been discovered by the security forces in Nyasaland. The authorities have to find some way of justifying the shooting and killing which have been going on in the name of law and order. Southern Rhodesia is now a police State. As a Methodist minister has put it this week in Salisbury, 'You can now be imprisoned for thinking.' The Southern Rhodesia African National Congress has neither threatened nor practised violence. What it has done is to prove itself too dangerous to the Southern Rhodesia Government's policy of racial discrimination—for example, it has effectively stopped the Land Husbandry Act, which has been described by African leaders as a vicious piece of legislation."

"In banning the African National Congress the governments concerned

have removed the only effective mouthpiece of the African people. These governments must now bear responsibility for forthcoming events, and I pray that these will be less serious than I for one expect." (*Manchester Guardian*, March 20, 1959.)

Alleged Brutality and Provocation

The *Daily Herald* (March 5, 1959) reported many cases of beating up by the Special Police, recruited from the settlers. In Blantyre, reporters from the *St. Louis Post Despatch* and the *Associated Press* were threatened with guns and batons, and their African guide was beaten. The Police Superintendent said he regretted the incident, but explained his police were tired after three days of duty.

In the course of a telephone interview with the *Manchester Guardian* (March 6, 1959) Mr. McAdam said he had been with the representatives of the *Observer* and *Time-Life* at police headquarters when they tried to witness the taking into custody of the Secretary-General of the Nyasaland African National Congress. The *Manchester Guardian* added: "Mr. McAdam had not seen any English newspapers, but this account is identical with one that appeared in the *News Chronicle* and the *Daily Herald*."

John Mossman (*Daily Herald*) said: "We newspapermen have been repeatedly threatened and hindered." In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* (March 4, 1959) Mr. A. C. McAdam of the Church of Scotland Mission, Blantyre, wrote: "B.B.C. Federal and South African news bulletins have wrongly reported incidents affecting the Church of Scotland Missions in Livingstonia and Blantyre. . . . At Livingstonia the missionary in charge, the Rev. Fergus Macpherson, denies being stoned by an angry mob and the store at Livingstonia was not burned down as broadcast on February 21." He added details of an incident when a police patrol attacked Blantyre schoolboys and went on: "The truth is that the police initiated violence and acted irresponsibly throughout. . . . The Church of Scotland have consistently challenged federation and because of this the police and most Europeans dislike us. The local official report here on the incident is not just biased—it is blatantly provocative. Police and army attitudes are inciting violence all over the Protectorate. The British Government must intervene and replace Rhodesian troops or Nyasaland is about to take up the newsprint normally devoted to Cyprus." The Rev. James W. C. Dougall, general secretary of the Foreign Mission Department of the Church of Scotland, confirmed Mr. McAdam's version, adding that the Rev. A. Doig and the Rev. A. Rennie went with some of the boys to the police station to protest. Apparently, however, a police version of the story was accepted, and the wireless gave out that one man had been seriously injured. In actual fact, he was able to go home after hospital treatment. Dr. Dougall went on: "Missionaries of the Church of Scotland in Nyasaland have consistently expressed their concern as to the effects of the imposition of federation on race relations in a territory where these were exceptionally happy and harmonious up till 1953. The tragedy of present events bears ample evidence to the truth of their repeated warnings, and sooner or later the political settlement will have to recognize the facts. Even so, if there is to be any solution to the political problem of Nyasaland, we know that it will be made possible, not by violence on either side, but by relationships of personal trust and friendship." (*Scotsman*, March 5, 1959.)

Inquiry Commission Demanded

In the course of a debate on the action of the Federal Government in deporting Mr. Stonehouse, Mr. James Callaghan (Labour) told the Government that the Opposition would be prepared to co-operate with the Government in the appointment of a Parliamentary Mission to go to Nyasaland at the earliest possible opportunity, in order to investigate the background to the present disturbances. He said that it was hoped that if the Government would accept the proposal in the spirit in which it was made the Opposition would not divide the house.

Sir Reginald Manningham-Buller, the Attorney-General, said that the Government would not rule out or ignore any proposal which would enable Parliament to discharge its responsibilities, but the next obvious course was to pursue the proposal for the Minister of State for the Colonies to pay his visit to Nyasaland at such time as the Governor thought it would be appropriate. He said that the Government was not prepared to bargain

about the matter at all, and was quite prepared to vote on the motion before the House. (*Hansard*, March 4, 1959.)

On March 12 the Secretary of State for the Colonies told the House that Lord Perth was on his way to Nyasaland.

There was considerable public support for some form of commission of inquiry to be sent to Nyasaland immediately.

The Liberal Party Committee said "the commission should not be confined to members of Parliament and thought it absolutely essential that the terms of reference should be sufficiently wide. The commission should not merely be asked to ascertain whether there was a plot and how widespread it was, but to find out the underlying causes of the unrest. For this purpose, the Liberals felt that the commission should consult all shades of opinion including representatives of the missionary societies and persons at present under detention. The committee emphasized again the Liberal view that it would be a mistake to force through federation without the goodwill and support of the African people." (*Manchester Guardian*, March 18, 1959.)

Lord Perth, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, having arrived in Nyasaland, was given a memorandum by Mr. Wellington Chirwa, an African former member of the Rhodesian Federal Assembly, suggesting that a British Parliamentary commission with three independent Nyasa Africans on it should be set up.

Mr. Chirwa asked Lord Perth for the immediate publication of the Congress plans for an uprising, in order to ease tension. He also asked the British Government to declare that Nyasaland should be a Black State. "We need harmony among the races and Britain should assist in creating ideal conditions for this country. Europeans and Asians should be made to look to this country for their security and not to Southern Rhodesia." He advocated a Legislative Council of thirty-two Africans and six non-Africans, with the Financial Secretary and Attorney-General as Government members. (*The Times*, March 17, 1959.)

Constitutional Proposals

The Congress Liberation Party led by Mr. T. D. T. Banda (a former president of the African National Congress) has suggested that there should be a Legislative Council of forty members, all of whom should be elected on a common voters' roll with universal adult franchise, and that there should, in addition, be two official members of the Legislative Council. The Executive Council should consist of the two officials, the leader of the majority party and a number, unspecified, of his supporters.

The C.L.P. is described by the *Rhodesia Herald* (January 31, 1959) as a moderate organization which broke away from the Nyasaland African National Congress.

The executive of the Nyasaland Association has proposed a Legislative Council of twenty-six with twelve members nominated by the Government, six elected on an A roll with similar qualifications to those used in Federal elections and eight elected by voters on a plus B roll. There would be an Executive Council of eight with four nominated officials, two nominated from members elected on the A roll and two from those elected on the B roll. These four unofficials would take the Government Whip and cross the floor of the House. In practice, therefore, the Legislative Council would have the twelve nominated votes and four from the elected blocs. If, however, no one either from the A roll bloc or the B roll bloc would accept nomination to the Executive Council, the Governor would be entitled to increase the nominated side in the Legislative Council to obtain a Government majority. The Association adds in its proposals that it would be essential, if they were adopted, to enshrine in the new constitution that numbers elected by the B roll were fixed at eight and would not increase. It can be enshrined also that they would be reserved for Africans if necessary. Also fixed in the constitution should be a formula that when the number of Africans registered on the A roll represented 25 per cent of the others on that roll, three seats would be added to those on A roll, that is six making a total of nine, and the number of nominated seats reduced by three—also to nine. Again, when Africans on the roll equalled 50 per cent of others on the A roll a further three seats would be transferred from the nominated bloc to the A roll bloc making twelve in all. Another three nominated seats would be transferred to A roll bloc when A roll Africans were 75 per cent of the total of the others.

The Nyasaland division of the United Federal Party has insisted that there should be parity at least for the time being between "A" roll (non-African) candidates and "B" roll candidates. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 18 and 19, 1959.)

Resettling Nyasaland Africans

The Nyasaland Government announced that it had bought from the British Central African Company a further 8,700 acres for the resettlement of Africans from crowded areas. The land is in the Blantyre district. The purchase brings the total area of land sold by B.C.A. to the Government for this purpose since 1948 to 244,800 acres. The land will help towards solving the problem of finding alternative homes for Africans who wish to be relieved of their *tangata* obligations, or who have difficulty in finding suitable homes. *Tangata* was a system whereby an African squatter on a private estate had to pay rent in the form of labour.

Southern Rhodesia

State of Emergency

ON February 26, 1959, the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, proclaimed a State of Emergency. In a broadcast statement, the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, said that the step had been taken in view of the general security situation in the Federation and the grave situation in Nyasaland following a policy of violence pursued by the Nyasaland African Congress among the African population. "The fact that this policy has been and is supported by the African National Congress in this colony has given rise to a reasonable fear that a similar grave situation may occur here unless immediate steps are taken to deal with this emergency."

Regulations had been published which, *inter alia*, enabled the authorities to prohibit meetings of more than three persons and to restrict the movement of persons. The Minister was given power to detain any person for a period of one month if his detention is considered to be in the public interest. Other regulations banned as illegal organizations within Southern Rhodesia, the Nyasaland African National Congress, the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, the Zambia National Congress and the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress.

Sir Edgar also said: "It is a very ancient tradition of the British people that governments should defer action against subversive movements until actual rioting or bloodshed has occurred. My Government does not subscribe to this tradition. . . .

"I do not think it would be an exaggeration to say that the security forces have always been a little in advance of the subversive elements in Southern Rhodesia. . . . Many weeks of planning have gone into this operation which is in progress at the present time. The Federal Government were informed of our intention about three weeks ago and gave their unstinted approval and their most generous support with all the forces they had available. The closest co-ordination has been built up, not merely between the two governments but between their respective security forces. . . .

"The Government wish to make it absolutely clear that the action which has been taken against certain subversive groups in no way involves a change of policy. They are determined to continue their stated policy of giving greater opportunities to the African people in all spheres, to improve African agriculture, education and housing, to proceed with the Industrial Conciliation Bill and to remove any unnecessary racial discrimination."

During the debate in Parliament it was agreed that these regulations should remain in force for thirty days instead of seven. On March 20, a further thirty days' extension was agreed to without opposition.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. S. E. Aitken-Cade, said his party did not stand "behind" the Government in this matter. "We stand shoulder to shoulder with them. We should like to have seen this action taken earlier."

It was subsequently announced that 490 Congress leaders and members were detained.

The *Rhodesia Herald* commented: "Southern Rhodesia has done the right thing, but just how is the Colonial Office administration in the north

to be persuaded to follow suit? . . . In these circumstances, where the whole is endangered by a part or parts, we wonder just how much longer the position can be tolerated by the Federal Government, who have clearly indicated that their sympathies lie with the policy of the Southern Rhodesia Government in stamping out trouble before it has time to gain a hold." (February 27, 1959.)

Earlier in February, Sir Edgar Whitehead had told Parliament that his government believed that African nationalism could only be permanently defeated by convincing the African people that racial co-operation held out a better promise for them than narrow nationalism. He added "there was no evidence that the recent disturbances in Nyasaland had caused any unrest in Southern Rhodesia". (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 5, 1959.)

Arrest of Guy Clutton-Brock

It was announced on March 23 that Guy Clutton-Brock and fifty others among those detained under the Emergency were to be released.

Mr. Clutton-Brock, who went to Southern Rhodesia in 1949 with his wife and daughter, was the only European among the 490 detained. He founded the interracial farm run on co-operative lines on the St. Faith's Anglican Mission land near Rusape. He holds both British and Rhodesian nationality, and he joined the reconstituted African National Congress in 1958, within which he used his influence to encourage a policy of non-violence. (*Scotsman*, March 5, 1959.)

A deputation consisting of Professor Kirkwood of Oxford University, Sir Walter Moberly, Mr. Ralph Ibbott, and the Rev. Michael Scott called on the High Commissioner of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in London to protest and ask for news of Mr. Clutton-Brock.

In the House of Commons (March 5, 1959), Mr. C. J. M. Alport replying to a question from Mr. J. Grimond (Liberal) said: "The United Kingdom High Commissioner . . . has been informed that Mr. Clutton-Brock has been detained by the Southern Rhodesian authorities under Emergency Regulations. . . . Although Mr. Clutton-Brock is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies, he is also a citizen of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, having previously become a Southern Rhodesian citizen in 1951. It would be contrary to normal practice for the United Kingdom Government to intervene on behalf of a person with dual citizenship in the other country of which he is a citizen."

In reply to a supplementary question from Mr. J. Callaghan (Labour), Mr. Alport stated that payment is being made to all the wives of detainees, and that the families are being looked after in accordance with arrangements made by the Southern Rhodesian Government.

On the adjournment of the House of Commons (March 18, 1959), Mr. A. G. Bottomley (Labour) opened by saying: "In dealing with the question of the detention of Mr. Clutton-Brock I want to make it especially clear that I am not asking for any special treatment for him and that the matter is not being raised because he happens to be a European. It is a matter of basic principle. We feel it is wrong to detain persons who, in the present difficulties in Central Africa, can use a moderating influence." He recalled Mr. Clutton-Brock's work in the East End of London during the blitz and continued: "After the war, he was put in charge of the youth and religious affairs section of the British Control Commission in Germany. He resigned that work to take up work with the Council for Christian Reconstruction in Europe. It was because of the terrible things that he saw following the devastation of Europe, particularly the shortage of food, that he decided that he ought to do all he could to help increase food production, and he became a farm labourer in order to understand the work. This led him to Africa and to the St. Faith's Mission Farm in Southern Rhodesia, where he became an agricultural officer. . . . Ever since . . . European and African co-operation has resulted in the stopping of soil erosion. . . . The farm manager is an African, and other Africans are employed in running the farm and accepting their share of responsibility and they show initiative. The manager and some others have been detained. One cannot but draw the conclusion that perhaps it is the objective to try to close down the farm, to deny the Africans rights in the European area. . . . Mrs. Clutton-Brock runs a clinic for the treatment of deformed children. African children come from everywhere to get attention. The Clutton-Brocks were trying to develop other interracial societies in Southern Rhodesia."

Commenting on Mr. Alport's reply of March 5, Mr. Bottomley said:

"Perhaps it is appropriate to remind the Under-Secretary . . . that there was a time when representations were made in the case of others who had dual citizenship. I refer to the Russian wives of British soldiers."

Mr. P. Holman (Labour), Member for Bethnal Green, quoted from a protest against the arrest from the Mayor of Bethnal Green, the Head and Deputy of Oxford House, and the Warden of University House, and he pointed out that recently the Prime Minister had protested to Southern Ireland because it had let some I.R.A. prisoners out from the prison in the Curragh. "Was that undue interference? If we can interfere in Southern Ireland which claims to be independent, surely we can use our influence in a part of the British Commonwealth with whom we should have a great deal in common."

The Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations said he was fully aware of the strong feelings which exist in the circumstances which surround the detention of Mr. Clutton-Brock. Referring to his previous reply, he said: "I tried to explain the reason why the Government were precluded from accepting the proposal that they should make representations on behalf of Mr. Clutton-Brock. It is precisely on occasions such as this, when strong emotions are aroused, that the established conventions for the conduct of relations between governments become most important. We in the United Kingdom resent it if established conventions are broken by other countries in the conduct of their relations with us, and I think it is reasonable for Hon. Members to assume that others feel the same about it. In 1930 at the Hague it was agreed that 'a State may not afford diplomatic protection to one of its nationals against a State whose nationality such person also possesses'. . . . When the British Nationality Act was passed in 1948 to regularize the whole question of subjecthood and citizenship, as far as the Commonwealth was concerned, it was immediately and logically accepted that the principles of the international convention should apply equally to the relations between Commonwealth Governments in the case of persons possessing dual Commonwealth citizenship. Indeed the House may feel that there are even stronger reasons for this practice within the Commonwealth than there are in the relations between Commonwealth and foreign countries, and I am sure that there is no direct analogy with the case of the Russian wives, such as that which the right Hon. Gentleman sought to draw. . . ."

"The declaration of emergency and the promulgation of emergency legislation are within the sphere of the Southern Rhodesian Government for the maintenance of law and order within the Colony. There is no need for the Secretary of State to be consulted in advance about any of these actions, nor was he in fact consulted. Although under the Regulations there is no obligation on the part of the Government of Southern Rhodesia to give reasons for taking any individual into detention, I can tell the House that it has been publicly stated in Salisbury that Mr. Clutton-Brock is a member of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress. That is now a proscribed organization and Mr. Clutton-Brock has given it much encouragement and support."

The Africa Bureau, deploring the action of the Southern Rhodesian Government's action in detaining Guy Clutton-Brock and John Mutasa, the manager of St. Faith's Farm, said: "Such dictatorial action is unprecedented and it only confirms the allegation, made frequently by Africans in Central Africa, that Government policy there is one of unashamed White domination."

In a letter from prison Mr. Clutton-Brock said: "After hours of being screened by the C.I.D. I felt satisfied and at peace. Mistakes we have made by the thousands. We may differ in detail, but it is the main line that is challenged in what is happening here. There is a clash of motives and a colossal edifice of misunderstanding has been built up. Everything that we have been trying to do in Africa is challenged—every visit, every gathering of mixed peoples at St. Faith's. . . . Those who know best what partnership means and how best to make it work have been taken from St. Faith's—the manager, the chairman of the village committee, headmaster of the village school, the husband of the head of Molly's [his wife's] clinic. What of the other 490? As for us, every detail of our lives comes up for scrutiny."

"It has been obvious that this would happen one day, though not so soon. We had no inkling of violence in Nyasaland. I believe it flared up suddenly—and inevitably. In Southern Rhodesia some of us may have been

foolish and wrong, and tensions were rising, but I have no evidence of menace. But now many must go through woe and then pick up the bits and put them together. Yet this will stimulate growth. Even now there are signs of response. I was two-thirds of the way through writing to explain why Nyasaland did not like federation. Now the police have it. The future will reveal itself. I have unwavering faith in it."

He refused a Government offer on March 20 to release him providing that he left the Federation immediately.

New Legislation Introduced

The Unlawful Organizations Bill passed its second reading in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. It enables the Government to continue to ban such organizations as the African National Congress after the emergency regulations lapse. Concessions made to the critics of the Bill include the dropping of the clause which would have presumed the guilt of persons accused of certain offences until their innocence had been proved. Under the Preventive Detention Bill people detained for subversive activities may be held indefinitely without recourse to the courts. The Bill provides that if the Minister of Justice is satisfied that inquiries in connexion with a detainee have not been completed he may authorize his detention for a further three weeks. Although no detainee will have the right of appeal to a court of law, the Bill provides for a special committee of five members of Parliament to hear such appeals in private.

Under another, any African found guilty of "contemptuous behaviour" or insolence to an officer of the Southern Rhodesian or Federal Government will be liable to a fine of £50 or six months' imprisonment. It will also be an offence for an African to say or do anything likely to undermine the authority of any officer of the Southern Rhodesian or Federal Government or to bring such officer or any such Government department into disrepute or contempt. The Bill provides that no person shall hold, preside at or address, any meeting in the native reserves or tribal areas at which more than twelve Africans are present, without the written permission of the Native Commissioner. The Commissioner will not be allowed to give permission without consulting the local African chief. The penalty for those contravening this section will be a fine of up to £100 or up to twelve months' imprisonment. African chiefs, M.P.s, ministers of religion, and Government officers are exempt from this clause. (*The Times and Manchester Guardian*, March 18, 1959.)

Leaders of the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches published a joint statement condemning the Unlawful Organizations Bill. (*Daily Telegraph*, March 18, 1959.)

The Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations commented on the Unlawful Organizations Bill in the course of the adjournment debate on the detention of Mr. Clutton-Brock. He said that it did not appear to be a Bill which should be reserved by the Governor under Section 28 of the Letters Patent of 1923. He said the requirement to reserve was broadly confined to legislation which discriminated against the Africans or was in conflict with the United Kingdom's treaty obligations . . . the organizations which were scheduled in the Bill did not appear to be organizations confined to African membership. Mr. Alport did not deal with the two other Bills introduced in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. (*Hansard*, March 18, 1959.)

Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president-general of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress, arrived in London on March 20. He had escaped arrest because he had been outside his country when the Emergency was declared. At a press conference in London he said he would ask the British Government to veto the Bills which were now before the Southern Rhodesian Parliament which would outlaw certain organizations and make insolence to Government officers an offence. He said that Africans did not want to be influenced by any foreign ideology, they wanted the African personality "unsoiled and undisturbed".

In Salisbury, women with black sashes stood outside Parliament in silent protest against the Preventive Detention Bill. (*The Times*, March 21, 1959.)

Strike at Kariba

About 1,000 of the 5,000 Africans working on the Kariba Dam went on strike: most of them were workers in the underground power house, where

earlier seventeen men had been killed (three Italians and fourteen Africans) by falling 200 ft. and being buried in 20 tons of fast-hardening concrete.

The strikers adopted as their motto: "We can't die for fourpence." Fourpence is the basic hourly pay for labourers. The contractors claim that most men earn more, but Africans say that some of them still get no more after two years' work. The firm offered an increase to 6d. an hour. This was refused. Police reinforcements and 120 men of the 1st Battalion The Royal Rhodesian Regiment were flown to Kariba. After Mr. Abrahamson, the Southern Rhodesian Minister of Labour, had said that the strike was in no way connected with the trouble in Nyasaland, but was an industrial dispute brought to a head by the accident, officials at Kariba said: "The strikers are led by a Nyasaland African: this row is political." (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 25 and 26, 1959.)

On February 26, the strike was declared to be over, with the "hard core" of 200 strikers having been paid off.

Congress Leaders Banned

The Southern Rhodesian Government made an order under the Inter-territorial Movement of Persons (Control) Act banning Mr. M. Sipalo, the secretary-general of the Zambia (N.R.) African National Congress. He was arrested in Salisbury: similar orders were made against Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president-general of Zambia, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president-general of the Northern Rhodesia A.N.C., Dr. H. Banda, president-general of the Nyasaland A.N.C., and Mr. H. B. Chipembere, a member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council. Later Mr. Sipalo was also banned from Nyasaland. In Lusaka he said: "I am not at all surprised about this banning. In fact I expected it. Something must be done about this banning and deportation. Federal citizenship includes Africans, and this law is discriminatory. Not one local European politician has ever been deported." (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 21 and February 4, 1959.)

Mr. Arnold Nkhata, vice-president of the Mashonaland Division of the Nyasaland A.N.C., was also deported. (*Pretoria News*, February 11, 1959.) Mr. George Nyandoro, the secretary-general of the Southern Rhodesia A.N.C., was banned from Nyasaland. Mr. Nyandoro described the ban as "the usual Welensky pressure on Sir Robert Armitage, the Governor of Nyasaland, to take these arbitrary measures because Welensky believes that if African leaders meet he will not get away with his idea of dominating the Africans in Central Africa". The authorities, he said, were "just flogging a dead horse. We shall continue to meet regardless. It will not change anything at all except that the authorities will not know in future that we are meeting." (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 19, 1959.)

Inter-Racial Legislation

The Land Apportionment Amendment Bill which aims to permit the establishment of multi-racial hotels in the European areas of Southern Rhodesia was passed by seventeen votes to eleven. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. S. Aitken-Cade (Dominion Party), said that he strongly objected to every word and part of the Bill. "We stand firm on the Land Apportionment Act in the belief that residential and possessory segregation are the answers to the problems which face us today, whereas the other party states that appeasement is the answer."

The Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, said the need for the measure first became apparent to him when he attended Commonwealth economic conferences several years ago and it was suggested that one might be held in Southern Rhodesia. He then had to make it clear that it was impossible for Southern Rhodesia to provide the necessary hotel accommodation. . . . There was also the question of promoting the tourist industry. While in Washington he had spoken to the head of a big firm which had hotels in many countries. He had told Sir Edgar that his firm would not put up hotels in Southern Rhodesia unless they were multi-racial.

Dr. A. Palley (Dominion Party) complained that the Jameson Hotel in Salisbury was proposing to apply for permission to be multi-racial when the Bill came into force. He said that he was a director of the owning company. He went on: "The hotel is leased out to a company, the main shareholders of which happen to be the British South Africa Company, Anglo-American and Rhodesian Selection Trust, plus others. It is the lessee company which establishes the policy of the running of the hotel. I, as a

director of the owning company, objected to that policy being followed by the lessee company, and I was outvoted on the board by members of the Federal Party." Dr. Palley's amendment that permission should not be given, without the consent of the owner of the building when application was made by the person in charge of the hotel who was not also the owner, was accepted without a vote.

The Bill "provides that the Minister of Native Affairs may, upon the application of a hotelkeeper, declare a hotel in the European area of the Colony to be a multi-racial hotel. But the hotel buildings must be worth at least £50,000 if it is in a municipality and the Minister must also consult with the local authority in whose area it is situated. The declaration may be revoked at any time if the Minister thinks it expedient in the public interest, or if the hotelkeeper desires it." (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 11, 14, and 20, 1959, and *Sunday Mail*, February 15, 1959.)

The Minister of Labour, Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, introduced a new Industrial Conciliation Bill. This is the fourth time in four years that such an attempt has been made. The Bill makes multi-racial unions possible but maintains the existing machinery for industrial councils in each industry.

The *Rhodesia Herald* said: "The measure dovetails nicely with overall Government policy towards industrialization. The Land Husbandry Act is causing more and more Africans to leave the rural areas; foreign Africans are to be banned from working in certain urban areas; with industrialization comes the need for both employers and employees to be organized on a reasonable and rational basis." (February 14, 1959.)

Business and Politics

Sir John Howard recently went to Salisbury for the opening of a new building of his company, Pearl Assurance. Sir John is also vice-chairman of the National Union of Conservative Associations.

While in Salisbury on his business visit he said: "There is no doubt that the Socialists intend to pull the Federation to pieces again. If you try to unscramble the eggs in that sort of fashion, then it affects the confidence of investors enormously. We Conservatives founded the Federation. We believe in it, and we will not permit this to happen if we are re-elected." (*Kenya Weekly News*, March 13, 1959.)

EAST AFRICA

Higher Education

THE Report of the Working Party on Higher Education, published at the end of February, contains four main recommendations which are being considered by the East African Governments. (1) By reorganization and extension, the Royal Technical College of East Africa in Nairobi should, without delay, become a University College of a new type in which academic and professional courses of equal standing would have their place in faculties of arts, science, engineering and special professional studies (Makerere, near Kampala, is at present the only university college in East Africa). (2) That plans should be formed for setting up an interterritorial university college in Tanganyika, to be opened to students in 1965-6 or as soon as possible thereafter. (3) That a University of East Africa should be created by 1966, and that the university colleges then existing and any which might be founded later should be associated together as constituent colleges of the university. (4) Since these recommendations would guarantee adequate higher technological and professional training in East Africa for some years ahead, no additional institutions offering facilities for such training should at present be contemplated. The report also comments on the importance of secondary schools preparing for higher education, need for teachers of high quality and the need to ensure that the degrees and other qualifications to which courses are directed in the new colleges will be of a universally recognized high standard. The report adds: "The inter-racial character of the colleges we take for granted as an indispensable element of their fully liberal nature and outlook." That they should also be wholly inter-territorial was likely for many years to be a vital necessity in terms both of academic need and of finance. (*Kenya Newsletter* No. 198, March 5, 1959.)

Anglican Church Developments

A new province of the Anglican Church is to be formed for Kenya and Tanganyika. One of the chief problems which the new province is expected to pay special attention to is the recruitment of educated young Africans for the ministry. So far full-time service in the Church has failed "to attract college- and university-educated Africans". (*Manchester Guardian*, January 27, 1959.)

Kenya

Discussions on Constitution

MR. OGINGA ODINGA, M.L.C., Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, M.L.C., Mr. Shirley Cooke, and other African and Asian members of the Legislative Council, have formed a deputation to seek the appointment of a commission of constitutional experts and a round-table conference on the Kenya constitutional deadlock. This, they said, had been necessitated by the continued indifference of the Government in relation to these demands. They would also seek "a clear declaration of ultimate objectives in Kenya". This decision followed growing dissatisfaction among Africans and Asians with the British and Kenya Governments' failure to initiate such discussions. The deputation arrives in London on April 12.

Leaders of the North Nyanza African District Congress, the Central Nyanza Political Association, the Nairobi African District Congress, Kitui African District Liberal Party, the Nakuru African District Congress and the Nairobi People's Convention Party met in Nairobi on January 11, and by thirty-one votes to twelve called upon the African elected representatives to resign at once from the Legislature to show that we strongly refuse to recognize the imposed Lennox-Boyd constitution which was designed to serve only the interests of the immigrants, and that we are indignant with and protest against the continuation of the unjustified emergency regulations, including the Government's refusal to allow the Africans to organize themselves politically on a country-wide basis." (*Uganda Argus*, January 13, 1959.)

The following week the standing committee of the Kenya Indian Congress, after defeating by seventeen votes to thirteen Mr. J. M. Nazareth's motion calling for the appointment of a commission of constitutional experts and a round-table conference, called on Mr. S. G. Amin, their president, to lead a deputation to the Governor to receive a "final answer" on Asian demands.

During the visit of Sir Evelyn Baring, the Governor, to London for consultations on the Colony's constitutional future, and its economy, a statement by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, M.P., aroused criticism in Kenya. The *East African Standard* said his flat rejection of the idea of a formal conference to examine fundamentals of the Constitution was disappointing and added: "The case against a round-table conference in Kenya has been based solely on its chances of success and, therefore, its timing; not on the ultimate usefulness of a formal session." They pointed out: "The African elected members have retaliated at once. Both Dr. Kiano and Mr. Mboya jump to the conclusion that, if round-table talks and a constitutional inquiry are ruled out, there cannot be any purpose in having informal talks. There was division in their ranks last week-end on the proposal (finally defeated) to quit Legislative Council. . . .

"The Colonial Secretary's statement is now interpreted by Dr. Kiano and Mr. Mboya as inimical to African interests and, in consequence, seen as conducive to the suggestion of non-co-operation. These are difficult times and dangerous. Tempers are getting frayed with the frustration felt on all sides, including the European because of what he regards as the intransigent African attitude and lack of sympathy on the part, at any rate, of some of the Asian leaders. Since the start of the Emergency, there never has been greater necessity for clear thinking, more demand for steadiness in leadership."

The editorial concluded: "The prudent will remember the word 'never' has no meaning in politics, with its impossible ring of finality, for nothing in life itself is immutable. Mr. Lennox-Boyd would do well to think again,

or, if the wrong impression of what he meant has got around, immediately issue a reassuring statement." (January 23, 1959.)

Mr. Amin said the Colonial Secretary was "playing with fire" and that "informal discussions without the prospect of a constitutional conference to follow would be worthless and nobody would be interested in wasting time and energy on them".

Dr. Kiano commented: "Let the Governor and the Colonial Secretary say what they want us to talk about and let the world know that the talks will be formal and binding and include an impartial expert in the arrangement." (*East African Standard*, January 23, 1959.)

Mr. Tom Mboya issued a statement in which he publicly demanded for the first time that the African elected members should resign. He said that Mr. Lennox-Boyd's statement gave Kenya non-Europeans the answer to any "wait for the Governor" policy. (*The Times*, January 11, 1959.)

The Kenya Government on January 26 issued a statement amplifying what Mr. Lennox-Boyd had said. This read: "The position is that a round-table conference is not ruled out by the Secretary of State and the Kenya Government consider that such a conference could usefully be convened only if preliminary consultations between all concerned showed that such a course seemed the best way to carry things further towards an agreement, within the general ambit of the present constitution, on those elements in it which are susceptible to alteration." (*The Times*, January 27, 1959.)

Referring to this "belated" decision to consider the African demand for a round-table constitutional conference, the *News Chronicle* (January 27, 1959) commented: "It is essential that the British Government should recognize the basic facts of the situation and follow a consistent policy. Concessions to 'White supremacy' settlers in Central Africa and to African nationalists in Tanganyika simply do not make sense.

"... Africa is swept by a single movement. It has local variations, but there is a universal trend towards ending European domination. It has gone too far to be stopped, and if the attempt is made to check it the White minorities will suffer most. The Pan-African conference at Accra urged African nationalists to achieve their aims without violence. Whether that is possible, and whether the European minorities are to have a future in Africa, depends largely on whether the British Government has the wisdom and courage to accept the truth."

The *Daily Telegraph* referred to the African politicians' decision to boycott both the Queen Mother's visit to Kenya and of the new session of the Legislative Council and to their demands for the ending of the Emergency and the 1957 multi-racial Lennox-Boyd Constitution. The editorial concluded: "No one disputes now that before very long the Africans will predominate and that eventually universal suffrage will be achieved. The problem which the 1957 Constitution was intended to solve is to ensure the due rights of other races and an orderly transition in step with the developing capacities of the African population. This is vital for the progress of the country and the economic welfare of all its inhabitants. Clamant African nationalism and resulting uncertainty in Kenya, as elsewhere, have already dried up the flow of investment on which the future of underdeveloped countries depends." (January 30, 1959.)

Mr. R. G. Ngala, secretary of the African Elected Members' Organization, said that at their meeting on January 29 in Nairobi, Mr. Dingle Foot, Q.C., M.P., "was told that the Colonial Secretary's statement had completely closed the door to African proposals for constitutional changes in the Colony. The Governor's amplification was considered by members to be negative and to add nothing to the blunt refusal to have formal talks. Since that amplification does not entertain our proposal for a preparatory committee with a constitutional expert leading to a round-table conference, we have accordingly decided not to take part in the proceedings of the Legislative Council from the beginning of the next session. . . . African elected members were still prepared to have formal talks with the Governor and any other members of other races in a preparatory committee to which an expert was available to form the basis for the round-table conference." (*East African Standard*, January 30, 1959.)

Tom Mboya and the P.C.P.

Mr. Mboya announced on January 18 that after thirteen hours of discussion the council of the Kenya Federation of Labour had given him a vote of confidence in its general secretary. The voting was fifty to eighteen.

He added that the six officials who criticized him in a public statement in December had been "relieved of office". They included the Federation's president, organizing secretary, and assistant general secretary. In their statement they had accused Mr. Mboya of spending too much time out of Kenya on non-union business. In the past four months he has visited Ethiopia twice, and Ghana, Britain and Belgium. In September he offered to give up his post because of political commitments, but was persuaded to carry on. (*The Times*, January 19, 1959.)

At a meeting of the Nairobi Peoples' Convention Party, of which Mr. Mboya is president, resolutions were passed demanding the immediate formation of an "African Government" in Kenya and the release of Jomo Kenyatta. . . . The meeting also pledged members to observe April 15 as "Freedom Day" in Kenya, in accordance with a resolution passed at the Pan-African conference at Accra. All three resolutions were proposed by Mr. J. P. Mathenge, the general secretary.

Demonstrations outside the meeting hall where representatives of African district political associations met on January 11 were criticized by Mr. A. O. Odinga, M.L.C., who said the N.P.C.P. had staged them in order to dictate the conference into a decision calling on the African elected members to resign from the Legislature. Mr. Mathenge denied the allegations and said Mr. Odinga's attack was "unfortunate" and "mischievous". The N.P.C.P. had nothing to do with the organizing of any demonstrations that may have taken place. . . . If the decision not to resign was unpopular with the African population Mr. Odinga must be prepared to face up to it. The party executive was confident that he would find the same reaction in his own constituency. (*Uganda Argus*, January 7, 21 and 22, 1959.)

The passports of three officials of the N.P.C.P., Mr. Joseph Mathenge, general secretary, Mr. Omolo Agar, organizing secretary, and Mr. J. M. Oyangi, assistant organizing secretary, were withdrawn. A Government spokesman said this was "because the Government is in possession of information which indicates that it was the intention of the three men to travel to Cairo to attend an Afro-Asian youth conference from February 2-9. The conference is the fourth of a series of such conferences to be organized by the Egyptians for political purposes during the past six months and it seems clear that the Communists who have inspired the proposed conference intend to use it as an instrument to penetrate youth movements in Africa and Asia." (*East African Standard*, January 30, 1959.)

The Immigration Department later refused to endorse Mr. Mboya's passport for travel to Egypt, Morocco and Algeria. Mr. T. Neil, Assistant Chief Secretary, said he could not give the reason. (*Observer*, February 22, 1959.) Endorsements were subsequently given for Morocco and Algeria.

A statement by Mr. Mboya in his news sheet *Uhuru* on February 10 was widely publicized in Kenya, Britain and South Africa. It said: "Rumours reaching us in the last few weeks indicate that some Europeans are secretly negotiating a sale of arms and also armed support from Sir Roy Welensky, Premier of Central African Federation, in preparation for a show-down with the Colonial Office in the event that they accede to African demands for a greater voice in the government of Kenya. These rumours suggest that in fact a visit recently by Group Captain Briggs to Central Africa was for this purpose and that in fact a tentative agreement has now been reached with Sir Roy and preparations will begin in Kenya probably under the charge of the F.I.P. The rumours also suggest that this plan includes the deliberate provocation of Africans in the near future so as to provide an excuse for action by the settlers which would aim at a type of 'Algerian-settler rebellion'.

"Some people may laugh at what we have said above and some may dismiss it as a piece of imaginative thinking, but we do not want to take any chances. We are drawing the attention of the Kenya Government and the British Government to these rumours. We are in fact publicly calling on Sir Charles Markham to reveal what he referred to some time ago as secret discussions between Sir Roy Welensky and himself. It will be remembered that Sir Charles referred to the Kenya Government as one in which the Europeans had their 'kith and kin' whom they gave hell whenever they did wrong." He added that Africans remembered 1923, when the settlers threatened to kidnap the Governor over the Wood/Winterton agreement, and he called for a public answer from European leaders that there was no subversion going on.

The correspondent of *The Times* in Nairobi said the suggestion had brought "an air of fantasy" into the political scene: "It is a patently absurd idea that any European group could negotiate for arms or armed support from the Central African Federation, or that they would have any desire—after suffering for four years from Mau Mau terrorism—to provoke more bloodshed. There are guns in plenty in Kenya.

"It is believed that Mr. Mboya is trying to divert attention from the lamentable failure of his call for a boycott of the Kenya tour of Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother. He may also be trying to malign the Federation's newly formed European National Congress, which plans to call an All-Africa European conference to combat the influence of the Accra talks." (February 11, 1959.)

Group Captain Briggs on his return from visiting Sir Roy said: "It is typical untruthful African propaganda." *Sapa-Reuter* reported: "It is widely believed among Europeans here that Mr. Mboya is seeking to counter in advance a proposed All-Africa European conference which plans to restore European morale in East and Central Africa and the Belgian Congo, in the face of growing African demands for self-government. Group Captain Briggs and another European Member of the Legislative Council, Air Commodore E. L. Howard-Williams (who is at present in Salisbury), are known to favour such a conference. The proposal emanates from Central Africa's recently-formed European National Congress, for which Dr. J. R. Gregory, a former Mayor of Nairobi, is acting as executive officer." (*Pretoria News*, February 11, 1959.)

On his return from Salisbury, Air Commodore Howard-Williams, M.L.C., announced plans to form a European national congress on similar lines to the one in Southern Rhodesia. He said it would have as its aim the maintenance of the European's position and standards in the colony, and it was hoped it would eventually lead to the foundation of a national European congress embracing all other countries south of the Sahara. At the suggestion of members of the Rhodesian European Congress he had agreed to take over the chairmanship initially of the proposed body. *The Times* correspondent said that he doubted the success of the congress in a colony "where many Europeans still believe in a multi-racial approach". (February 13, 1959.)

The European Elected Members Organization expelled Air Commodore Howard-Williams.

According to the *Salisbury Evening Standard* the Air Commodore said: "It is no good waiting on events. You must be prepared. The future may depend on sending up your troops on training exercises." He declined to discuss his meeting with Sir Roy Welensky, who later commented: "The question of sending troops to Kenya for training or any other purpose has never been considered." (February 11, 1959.)

The South African Government refused permission to Mr. Mboya to visit the Union at the invitation of the South African Trade Union Congress, to discuss trade union rights and labour laws as they apply to non-Europeans.

In an interview with the *Rand Daily Mail's* Special Correspondent (March 3, 1959) Mr. Mboya said: "I think that South Africans should understand that we are interested in equality, not oppression. I would like to see Asians and Europeans who want to make their homes in Africa live here without fear. South Africans tend to take a defensive attitude toward Africa Nationalist leaders in the north. Their fear is unfounded, but fed on two fallacies—that the White man is a superman and that the Black man will be vindictive if he is given power. But the desire to be treated with respect is nothing new. South Africans once fought for it themselves. So did many people during the last war. There is nothing sinful in our struggle for freedom."

On March 6 the Kenya Government arrested thirty-four Africans, mostly leaders of the Nairobi People's Convention Party, including Mr. Mathenge, the general secretary, and Mr. Omolo Agar, editor of *Uhuru*. The *Manchester Guardian* reported (March 7) that the measures were "designed to deal with the small nucleus of African political agitators who are notorious intimidators, who make a hero of Jomo Kenyatta and who seek to excite racial hatred".

Uhuru and the right-wing European paper, *The Independent*, owned by Air Commodore A. L. Howard-Williams, M.L.C., were proscribed.

Mr. Mboya's house was searched by police. They did not find anything, he later told reporters.

Queen Mother's Tour

Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother toured Kenya from February 6 to 18. She was given a warm reception.

African public meetings had been banned by the Government throughout the visit and African Members of the Legislative Council then decided to boycott the tour "because of the prevailing circumstances", but sent a telegram to the Queen Mother saying this was not to be taken as a sign of discourtesy.

The Trial of Rawson Macharia

The trial of Rawson Mbogwa Macharia, who pleaded Not Guilty to swearing a false affidavit about evidence at the trial of Jomo Kenyatta in 1952, continued throughout two months and was transferred from Nairobi to Kitale on the order of the Governor in the interests of security, so that the evidence of Jomo Kenyatta and five other convicts from Lokitaung prison in Northern Province could be heard.

Mr. John Marnan, Q.C., prosecuted and Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., defended before the Nairobi Magistrate, Mr. Isaac Rosen. Macharia was alleged to have sworn in the affidavit that the Government promised him a college education, a job, and protection for his family in return for giving false evidence at Kenyatta's trial.

In the course of his evidence, Kenyatta said the evidence he himself had given when on trial at Kapenguria in 1952 was true. Asked if Macharia had told lies at that trial, he said he was "definite about that".

In further cross-examination Kenyatta agreed with Mr. Marnan that in 1952 he was in a position of great power. When Mr. Marnan asked if he had been the leader of the Kikuyu people, he replied, "Not only of the Kikuyu but of all Africa people." Mr. Marnan: "Could you have put a stop to Mau Mau if you had tried?" Kenyatta: "If I belonged to Mau Mau I could have stopped it." Kenyatta agreed there was then no more powerful African politician than himself and that he stood head and shoulders above others. As Kenyatta left the court room and was driven away in a small van Africans standing outside clapped him. (*The Times*, March 3, 1959.)

European Attitudes

There had been a certain subtle change among Europeans in Kenya during recent months, Mrs. A. R. Shaw, Member for Nyanza, said at a public meeting in Kericho. This change which she had noticed since her return from a visit to Britain took the form of a hardening of their attitude, with an increased determination to stand firm for what had been won by their achievements.

Another feature she had noticed had been a quickening in tempo and increase in speed with which political events were now moving. There was a marked deterioration in race relations, particularly in the larger towns. (*Uganda Argus*, February 6, 1959.)

African District Officers

Mr. Lennox-Boyd has approved a recommendation, made by the Colonial Secretary's Overseas Appointments Board in Kenya, that three African Members of the Provincial Administration should be appointed District Officers on probation. They are Mr. G. K. Kariithi, Mr. P. K. Kahahu and Mr. E. O. Josiah—members of the Embu, Kikuyu and Luo tribes respectively. Their promotion brings to four the number of Africans in Kenya holding such appointments. (*East Africa Standard*, January 30, 1959.)

Comments by Visitors

The Colonial Correspondent of *The Times* (January 27, 1959) described the signs of prosperity in Kenya as "the testament of European settlement working hand-in-hand with colonial government" and added: "But directly I began to look below the surface I began to be profoundly disquieted. It would be wrong to say that Kenya is an unhappy country. Parts of it are, parts of it are not. But nobody seems to know where he is going." He gave his impressions of the feelings of each race, the Europeans

with "the mentality of those who live on the slopes of Etna", the unhappy Asians, torn between clinging to Government protection and "getting on" with African nationalism; and the Africans, who present an enigma—"I never saw Africans so happy, friendly, and busily employed on constructive work as are the Kikuyu in the reserves. . . . The Africans in the African housing estates there have a watchful hooded look. They seldom smile, and no wonder, for between the politicians on the one side and the police on the other they lead an uneasy life."

He concluded: "Looking at the political future of Kenya, it is hard to see daylight. The European liberal politicians envisaged working a sort of interracial team-government, while leaving ultimate objectives vague. They had some success in selling this idea to their constituents; but they have had the platform shot from beneath them by the new generation of post-emergency African politicians, who want to work through a short transitional stage to an undiluted democracy. The danger is that differences may slip into deadlock, and deadlock into renewed violence."

Mr. Dingle Foot, Q.C., M.P., in the *Observer*, gave the background to the Africans' campaign for constitutional advance. He said that at the root of the problem lies the almost pathological suspicion among Africans of European intentions. They point to the Devonshire Declaration of 1923, which declared that African interests must be paramount, and to the manner in which, as they believe, it has since been eroded. They also point to developments elsewhere, notably the recent refusal of Her Majesty's Government to act on the advice of the African Affairs Board in Central Africa. At the same time they are powerfully influenced by the rising tide of African nationalism, as variously demonstrated by the Accra conference and by the Congo riots. The Europeans during recent months have acted with considerable restraint. They have certainly not behaved as a White Herrenvolk. Their more moderate leaders have been making a genuine attempt to discover a formula, falling short of full democratic self-government, upon which the various racial leaders could agree. It is a slender hope.

African references to positive action and civil disobedience no doubt sounded extremely irresponsible to Europeans. "But those who lead insurgent nationalist movements are seldom entirely their own masters. They may be in part responsible for letting the genie out of the bottle: they have no means of putting it back."

It was difficult to envisage agreement between the races on the ultimate destiny of Kenya. The decision must rest with the British Government and the demands of self-government of nearly six million Africans must be weighed against the not irrational fears of 201,500 Asians and 62,700 Europeans. The ultimate aim of British rule must be declared and only self-government on the basis of universal suffrage would be accepted by the overwhelming African majority.

Referring to the doubts Europeans and Asians might feel about the effectiveness of the African Members' proposal for their protection of a Bill of Rights for individual citizens and a system under which parliamentary legislation would be subject to judicial review if it infringed individual and property rights or if it were unconstitutional, Mr. Foot suggested that the British Government might declare that, quite apart from paper safeguards, they will not transfer sovereignty until reasonably satisfied that the position of racial minorities will be respected.

Africans' and Asians' request for a visiting constitutional commission had "a good deal to be said for it on its own merits. It would be an admirable thing if the various groups and parties were constrained to formulate their various constitutional proposals and to give specific answers to the questions which would arise." (February 13, 1959.)

The Labour Adviser to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. G. Foggon, said while visiting Mombasa that it has now been accepted in international trade union circles that the training abroad of trade unionists has not been uniformly successful. He added: "It is now felt that this training should be concentrated more and more in the particular countries where the new trade unions are progressing. Thus it is usually better to train East African trade unionists in East Africa. This need for increased local training was one of the reasons for establishing the I.C.F.T.U. School in Kampala."

Mr. Foggon said that he did not think any trade union in Kenya had been used for political purposes. It was important to differentiate between trade union leaders who engaged in individual political activity and the use

of a union as a political weapon. He did not know of any Kenya trade union which had, for instance, engaged in a strike for the furtherance of political ends. (*Uganda Argus*, November 22, 1958.)

Land Questions

A report made by a group of Unofficial Members of Legislative Council to the Minister for African Affairs says they were impressed by the advantages of land consolidation, by the greatness of the task, by the ingenuity of the system now evolved, by the enthusiasm and hard work of all concerned (especially the voluntary service of members of land consolidation committees) and by the comparatively small number of clearly justifiable complaints.

"Nevertheless there was sufficient evidence of suspicion, misunderstandings and occasionally actual injustice, to cause us concern, particularly in view of the passionate attachment of the African to his land, the inevitable finality of this operation of land consolidation and the importance that therein justice should not only be done but also be seen to have been done."

Commenting on the acceptance of the plan, the group says: "Government has rightly insisted that, however desirable land consolidation may be, it must never be imposed by force, but should only take place as and when desired by a great majority of the landowners concerned. This principle is of such fundamental importance that we urge the utmost care to ensure that, before any steps are taken, there is genuine understanding and acceptance by overwhelming numbers not only of the general conception of land consolidation, but also of the detailed plan (including provision of land for communal purposes, and percentage of land to be contributed by each landowner for such purposes)."

The report was signed by Mr. S. V. Cooke, Mr. Slade, Mr. K. D. Travadi and Mr. J. J. M. Nyagah. In a covering letter Mr. Slade regretted it was not signed by Messrs. Kiano, Mboya, Mate and Muimi, who had failed even to intimate whether or not they wished to do so, though he believed it represented substantially all their views. Its preparation had been somewhat handicapped in the final stages by their non-attendance. (*Uganda Argus*, January 26, 1959.)

Mr. J. L. Porter, former Agricultural Tutor in Ghana and from 1950-58 first Principal of the Jeanes School, Kabete, said Kenya had the richest land in Africa, "but it is like a millstone round our necks. Its ownership causes fierce dissension, while our failure to use it properly stops us from building a civilized nation in an area where 95 per cent of the people live in poverty and ill health.

"The money for Kenya's many needs can only come from land and by far the most important question is productivity in both African and European areas. . . . To support a modern civilization, every farmer must produce ten times the supply of food or other products which he needs for himself and his family. . . . In other words what we need is a complete change from the subsistence idea of farming to one of surplus-production.

"The change of attitude is the important thing. Technically the production problem could be solved within say twenty years. Any good farmer could produce about £500 worth of goods a year from a comparatively small shamba, especially in the Kikuyu, Embu or Meru districts in parts of Nyanza, or of the Rift Valley. If the present generation of young farmers could get the idea and really work for it, every farming family in Kenya could get an income of £500 a year, and the national income would be raised to £750 millions a year—more than four times its present size. It has been done in other parts of the world. Why not here?"

He knew some farmers who had achieved an income of £500 a year within five years.

"It is a great advantage for both man and wife to go to a Farmers' Course at Jeanes School or at one of the Farm Institutes. And, of course, plenty of help is available from the Farm Planning service, and from the Agriculture and Veterinary Department.

"It has been estimated that only about 5 per cent of the total used and inhabited areas of the African land units in Kenya is under beneficial occupation; the rest is being slowly but steadily destroyed, or at best is static."

New attitudes were needed, Mr. Potter added, "towards farming methods, towards productivity and towards land ownership. Little can be

done unless we all go into a country-wide partnership together, pooling our land, our brains, our skill. The task cannot be carried through by politicians, technical experts and educationists alone. It needs a spiritual awakening which will sweep aside fears and selfishness in the great task of building a new nation in Kenya." (*Rock*, December, 1958.)

British Aid to Kenya and Kenya's Trade

Kenya is to receive £1,600,000 in financial aid from Britain during 1959-60, after which there will be no further assistance from the British Government on meeting expenditure arising from the Emergency. This was stated by the Minister for Finance, Mr. E. A. Vasey, in Kenya Legislative Council when he reported on talks he had had in London.

The Minister said: "This means that by March 1960 Kenya will have received from Great Britain as assistance towards the cost of the Emergency the sum of £25,050,000 as a free grant and £6,050,000 as interest-free loans with an eight-year moratorium on capital repayment, which means that the Colony will have been given twenty-eight years in which to repay the principal of these interest-free loans. It must be remembered that in addition Her Majesty's Government has been responsible for the basic pay of all the British troops used during the Emergency." (*Kenya Newsletter* No. 198, March 5, 1959.)

Colonial Development Aid

Grants and loans totalling nearly £2½ millions were made in November, 1958, under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. The largest grant—£584,192—went to Kenya towards the intensification of African agriculture in the year 1958/59. Kenya also received £80,000 for expenditure on secondary roads and £45,000 for the establishment of an African Boys' Secondary Boarding School.

Kenya's Trade Position

Kenya's exports during the first eight months of 1958 were worth more than £18 millions, an increase of nearly £1,700,000 on the figure for the same period of 1957. Imports for the first seven months of the year amounted to £33,714,000. The Colony's adverse trade balance at the end of July was about £17 millions, compared with £25,595,000 in January-July, 1957. The figures given in the December issue of the *Trade and Supplies Bulletin* show that trade between Kenya and Japan continues to expand. Imports from Japan up to November were £2,968,000, an increase of £737,000 on the 1957 figure. Japan took Kenya goods worth £1,194,000 between January and August, which was £518,000 more than in the corresponding period of the previous year. Nearly 25,000 tons of Kenya coffee, worth about £11,136,000, were exported between October 1, 1957, and September 30, 1958. In the previous year about 20,000 tons, valued at £10,930,000, were shipped. (*Kenya Newsletter* No. 196, January 15, 1959.)

Prisons and Detention Camps

In the House of Commons, on February 24, 1959, the Rt. Hon. A. Creech Jones (Labour) moved: "That this House urges Her Majesty's Government, with a view to allaying public anxiety, to institute an independent inquiry into the conditions and administration of prisons and detention camps in Kenya; and also to review the prolonged detention of men against whom no charges have been made." A similar motion had already been signed by nearly 200 M.P.s.

Mr. Creech Jones said the matter had been raised "particularly because the European elected Members in Kenya have not raised this question and pressed their Government hard in respect of it". The Secretary of State had a responsibility to Parliament, and he pointed out that the people in detention camps and prisons were British subjects—no matter what their colour or creed. He recalled the background—the bestiality and terror of Mau Mau, the Emergency and the detention of 88,000 Africans, and the charging of 18,906 as offenders; the excesses, that were not limited to one side, and the more constructive approach to and reforms made in the treatment of offenders and detainees, thanks to criticisms made in Parliament, the resignation of Colonel Young, and criticisms by Miss Fletcher.

But considerable anxiety remained, and Mr. Creech Jones referred to newspaper reports, correspondence from prisoners and others, and to the last report on prisons in Kenya, in which he had read about riots in prison

camps, reports of violence against the prison staff, resort to corporal punishment three times heavier than in the previous year, of warders being killed in certain camps, of suspicious deaths in others, of mutiny at another detention camp, of prison officers being charged with beating up and of prison officers admitting that they were guilty of beating up, and of letters smuggled out of prisons telling us about rations, water supply, medical attention, and so on.

Repeated questions in the House had led to denials, but in the face of further evidence, he suggested "that there is a *prima facie* case for investigation and for inquiry into unnecessary beatings, corporal punishment, inadequate medical attention, mental torture, laborious compulsory work, the refusal to prisoners of certain privileges and rights, and so on".

He reminded the House that emergency regulations still operated, and there were still 2,400 detainees and about 4,000 imprisoned for Mau Mau offences. "It may be that many of these persons are dangerous criminals. It may be that the life of a warder is extraordinarily arduous and very dangerous. It may be that some of the evidence that has come our way is false and possibly under cross-examination would break down, and that the witnesses who have asked to be heard are unreliable. But I put it to the House that the evidence is cumulative, is widespread and reflects treatment of a brutal character. I would say there can be no smoke without fire."

Mr. Creech Jones quoted affidavits, some from European prisoners, others from Captain Law, who had given himself up as a vagrant in order to be repatriated to Britain, and had been detained for five months in prison in Kenya, and from Mr. Victor Shuter, until recently a principal officer in the Kenya Prison Service. They all described brutality on the part of warders towards African prisoners. Mr. Shuter, into whose affidavit the Kenya Government were now inquiring, described the most revolting and humiliating treatment in Manyani Detention Camp, where he alleged collective punishments and arbitrary beatings were carried out.

Turning to the case of detainees, he pointed out that "of the 2,400 detained, no fewer than 808 have been detained for four years and more, and in a large number of cases charges in the courts have broken down and there has been no case for the men to answer. Indeed, in some of the courts where they have been charged they have been completely acquitted."

It was no answer to say that 80,000 had been released.

Concluding, Mr. Creech Jones emphasized that there was no desire to denigrate the Kenya administration: an independent judicial investigation would serve the best interests of justice there.

In supporting the motion, Mrs. Barbara Castle (Labour) referred to a "classic example of our problem": Kabugi, son of Njuma. She said: "I received a letter dated September 15 from some detainees at Aguthi Special Detention Camp. I have received so many such letters that I simply have not the time to deal with them all. I often send them to the Colonial Secretary so that he may make inquiries. . . . I wrote to the Colonial Secretary and said that I had received an allegation that on September 5 Kabugi had been beaten to death by African warders in Aguthi Camp. The Colonial Secretary replied that he had heard of this case and was asking for a full report. Six days later I got the Colonial Secretary's further letter. This said that Mr. Njuma, while employed carrying buckets of earth, had collapsed. 'He was promptly sent by car to the civil hospital, but he died *en route*. A post-mortem was carried out by a medical officer and the cause of death was certified as "pulmonary infection". An inquest was held at which the Resident Magistrate, Nyeri, returned a verdict of "Death from natural causes". There is no truth in the allegation that the deceased was beaten by African warders at Aguthi Camp.'" Mrs. Castle continued: ". . . I place it to the great credit of the Colonial Secretary that some weeks later he wrote again to say that he had had another report from the Governor correcting the information on which he had based his original letter."

The cause of death was "pulmonary infarction"; further inquiries were to be made. Mrs. Castle had ascertained that this was a condition that could be caused by violence and that even if it did not actually cause it, a man suffering from pulmonary infarction who was beaten would inevitably die. The Colonial Secretary then wrote to her to say the first report was inaccurate and he was sorry he had misled her. The investigation into the case had now disclosed that Kabugi and two other former Mau Mau prisoners were assaulted by an African district assistant . . . and by African warders under his direction, when they arrived at Aguthi. The

Attorney-General of Kenya has instituted proceedings against . . . " [the warder] ". . . on three charges for assault inflicting actual bodily harm on Kabugi and these two other detainees. The charge would have been more serious if the medical evidence had not indicated that the process of infarction, from which Kabugi died, apparently began several hours before his death, and well before the time of the alleged assault."

Mr. Lennox-Boyd said when proceedings were over he would make a statement. An administrative inquiry was being conducted into the lack of responsible supervision at that camp.

Mrs. Castle continued: "What we are haunted by is the feeling that for every case which does come to light . . . there are others which do not reach us in their full form and reality." She asked: "Surely if one accelerates the death of a man, even if he is in an already weak physical condition, that is murder? . . . That is what happened in the Kamau Kichina case, which, we were told, was an isolated incident. It shocked the Colonial Secretary, who said he would see it never happened again. One thing which might be done to see that it never happened again would be to bring a charge of murder. Otherwise we are helping to encourage brutality."

Referring to a reminder from Lord Balniel, M.P., who had paid tribute to the rehabilitation work in Kenya, and reminded the House of the reassuring reports by Mr. Heaton (1957), and by a deputation from the House of Commons (1957), which expressed satisfaction with the administration after they had inspected numerous prisons and detention camps, Mrs. Castle quoted Mr. Shuter: "When, on one occasion, we officers received a warning that Mariira Works Camp was to be visited in a week's time by the International Red Cross, the legless man and two others who had their arms in plaster were sent off with some warders into the forest where they remained out of sight until after the inspection." At the same camp, he says, "Before inspection by visiting committees, which were only introduced in the second year of my service, detainees were warned of unpleasant consequences if they made any complaints. At Mariira Camp I heard such a warning being given by the said"—and here there is a name—"the officer in charge, and more recently, in October, 1958, I heard such a warning being given by the said"—and here there is another name—"at Fort Hall Reception Camp. On one occasion at Fort Hall Reception Camp the inspecting committee was carefully steered past huts containing men who had injuries from being beaten up, and was told that the huts were empty."

Mr. Bernard Braine (Conservative), enlarged on the achievements of the Kenya Government in rehabilitating 75,000 detainees and described some of the savage incidents in the Mau Mau campaign. He contended that if the men still detained had been let loose many social and agricultural reforms could not have been carried out. There were procedures for review, for appeal and for inspection. The system was not perfect, "but I do say that no single case can be quoted where the Kenya Government or the Secretary of State has refused an inquiry into an allegation".

He referred to the letter from the Lokitaung convicts,¹ "which not only was false in most of its particulars but grossly libelled a European officer. The *Observer* newspaper withdrew, apologized, and paid a substantial sum in damages."

Mr. Braine said the motion should be withdrawn because the Kenya Government had not at any time refused facilities for inquiries, and because it was "in effect, a Motion of Censure upon the Kenya Government, the Kenya Administration and our kinsfolk in that country".

Mr. James Johnson (Labour), supporting the need for "an investigation by someone who is not less than a Judge of the High Court of England", referred to the report made in 1954 by an All-Party Delegation, on which he had gone to Kenya. They found that "brutality and malpractices by the police have occurred on a scale which constitutes a threat to public confidence in the forces of law and order". They also said: "Increasing political pressure has been brought to bear on the Government with a view to securing the abandonment of at least some of the principles upon which British justice is founded."

He strongly pleaded the case of the political detainees in Takwa Camp against whom no charges had been made. He quoted a letter from one of them, Mr. Achieng Onoko: "Lately we have made further protests to the Secretary of State for the Colonies against molestation on detainees in

¹DIGEST VI, 1.

rehabilitation camps in a cablegram and a letter giving the details of the incidents. Admittedly, we are very much disturbed at the manner in which confession is sought by methods already denied by Mr. Lennox-Boyd publicly in the House of Commons, not once but severally. Here I am not talking against confession, neither am I trying to defend those candidates for rehabilitation. I mean those who had implicated themselves in Mau Mau evils, but who originally had, and still have, nothing to do with this beastly movement"—he is talking of political detainees. The letter continues: "... and were simply arrested on purely political ground. Whatever the case may be, violence of any sort cannot be tolerated by both the Government and men of good will, and we in particular assert that though detained for all this time, we will not tolerate violence in any form. We denounce it as an utterly reverse method of either restoring peace or gaining claims or bringing about reforms."

Mr. Johnson pointed out that Mr. Onoko had been acquitted, with others, by the Kenya Supreme Court. "He is not alleged to have taken any unlawful oath. He is not alleged to be a terrorist. He is not accused of sedition. Details of his speeches are not given to him, to myself or to anyone else. All there has been is a vague accusation: 'You made inflammatory speeches against the Government of Kenya and Europeans.' Why are those men kept in these camps? They have been rotting away for two, four, six and even more years, and we talk about justice. There is no charge against them."

Mr. Onoko had recently been told that he would be released if he agreed not to take part in any political activities. Mr. Johnson asked: "What terms are those for men who, when they come out, hope, like Tom Mboya or Dr. Kiano, to play their part in building up the political society and leading their people to a fuller and better life?"

He wanted to know why it was impossible to lift the Emergency, now that only a few hundred detainees remained, and there were 13,000 policemen in Kenya, as well as soldiers.

Mr. Patrick Wall (Conservative) attributed a political motive to the smear campaign of "some" of the Labour members (excluding Mr. Johnson) and he replied to the latter that the Emergency could not be lifted because the situation was still tense, the K.K.M. existed and two African Members of the Legislative Council had said Kenyatta was still their leader: and there was intimidation of loyal Kikuyu.

He said nearly all (though he would prefer to say all) of the complaints quoted in the debate had come from people with chips on their shoulders. "On the other side, we have had examinations by the International Red Cross, Parliamentary delegations, the C.P.A., the Kenya Government and other impartial witnesses."

In conclusion the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Julian Amery, M.P., reminded Members of the "amazing story of social engineering" in the rehabilitation of more than 80,000 detainees and the fact that little over 2,000 remained in detention. With regard to the "hard core" of the latter, "In the view of the Government of Kenya and of Her Majesty's Government here, no one can be judged permanently irreconcilable, but equally, so long as a detainee shows himself to be irreconcilable, it would be very dangerous in many cases, perhaps in all cases, to release him. . . . Some special provision will have to be made for them even though the State of Emergency were lifted for the rest of the country."

Mr. Dingle Foot (Labour) interjected an inquiry whether they were to be kept in prison for the rest of their lives without trial, to which Mr. Amery replied that it was a question of whether they became reconcilable or not.

In support of retaining the Emergency Mr. Amery referred to the arrest of 1,700 K.K.M. "elements" of whom about 350 were detained. He did not think it would have been possible to bring a criminal charge against them and but for the Emergency they could not have been detained.

With regard to Mr. Onoko, he "was secretary of the organization from which, in a sense, the Mau Mau movement sprang. . . . His position has been twice reviewed, once in 1954 and again last year, but it has not been possible to recommend release. . . . We hope that his detainee status may be changed to one of enforced residence so that his wife may join him there." If his status could be changed in this way, it should be possible for Mr. Johnson to visit him, when he went to Kenya. Mr. Amery recounted the checks to ensure that the power of detention is not being abused. "First

of all there is the ordinary administrative review. There is, I know, a tendency to believe that administrative reviews may be biased, but the fact remains that it is by administrative review that well over 90 per cent of the releases have already been secured. The next check is the Advisory Committee, headed by a Judge of the Supreme Court. About 2,500 appeals have been heard by this Committee, and more than 1,000 individuals have been released. The Committee is now hearing again a number of cases."

Turning to the move for an independent inquiry, he described the existing system under which prisons and camps operated in Kenya, with visiting justices and officials, clergy and senior prison officers.

Members of the Legislative Council had been allowed to visit prison, but not detention camps, because some of them "have been making what I can only call pro-Mau-Mau speeches with references at Accra to Mau Mau as freedom fighters. If they were to go to the camps and were to say these things in conversation with detainees or to a large audience, that could have a disturbing effect on the whole process of rehabilitation."

Then there was the advisory committee on the treatment of offenders which includes a legal adviser; the adviser on social welfare; Colonel Heaton, who spent a lifetime studying and working in the prisons of East Africa; Sir Lionel Fox, Chairman of the Prisons Commission; the wife of the right hon. Member for Wakefield; the President of the Bar Council, Mr. Gardiner, and a principal probation officer from this country, Mr. MacRae. Three of them have been to Kenya to see things for themselves, and Colonel Heaton's report is in the Library. He concluded: "The answer to the question whether, theoretically, the organization of prisons and camps is adequate is therefore undoubtedly 'yes'."

Since the Emergency, by 1954 the numbers had increased from 43 European officers, 1,100 African and 9,000 prisoners, to 457 Europeans, 14,000 African officers and warders, and 87,000 prisoners. Most of those recruited had no previous experience of prison work. There was little or no time to train them.

There had to be improvisation of camps. There were attacks on prisons by Mau Mau from outside, and mutinies inside.

Inevitably, as Colonel Heaton's report made clear, in the circumstances there undoubtedly was some malpractice, which was not brought to light.

Since then matters had been taken in hand and the load partly reduced with only 2,000 left in detention as well as an ordinary prison population of criminals which is slightly higher than it was before the Emergency. Mr. Amery added: "In 1956 there were fifty-six convictions in the courts against prison staff. In 1957 there were seventy-three convictions. I pass over dismissals or ordinary reprimands. Not all of these, not even most of them, sprang from ill treatment of prisoners. They were the results of acts of indiscipline of various kinds. Several cases were brought before the House."

"The right hon. Gentleman suggested that this was a sign of the need for an inquiry. I submit to him and to the House that the fact that there have been these prosecutions and dismissals shows that the Government of Kenya and the prison service in Kenya is perfectly capable of keeping its own house in order and is doing so. Our contention is that the organization of the prison service is right and is what it should be and that the safeguards against abuse are effective."

Mr. Shuter's allegations were the subject of a careful examination, and his reference to the visit of the International Red Cross had not yet been fully investigated. But Mr. Amery pointed out that the two I.R.C. delegates had been in Kenya for three months and he thought they knew their job well enough.

With regard to Mrs. Castle's account of the Kabugi case, the Government were in fact already taking action before her intervention, "and I can assure the hon. Lady and the House that the result would have been the same even without Parliamentary intervention; that the normal process of checking on reports of malpractice was going on, and that the Kenya Government were taking action in the ordinary course".

Further there had been only two deaths in prison, apart from the one we are investigating now. In each case a murder charge was brought, although, in the event, it was rejected by the jury. In conclusion Mr. Amery submitted the system was sound and "an inquiry could only shake public confidence in the Government of Kenya, and weaken the morale of the prison service".

The House divided and the motion was lost by 288 to 232. (*Hansard*, February 24, 1959.)

The Economist (February 28, 1959) commented that the Government's case was not a negligible one: "All the same, the one overriding consideration in treating any present-day colonial question must be what last memories of the British way of doing things are to be left behind before the connexions with Westminster are severed. The Kenya Government's present investigation of the pile of affidavits against its prison staffs is apparently only an internal administrative process. Could there not be a tribunal partly recruited from London but including a representative of the Kenya judiciary?"

The New Statesman and Nation (February 28, 1959) concluded: "The very fact of the Colonial Office reluctance to concede an independent inquiry is sufficient indication that a Colonial Office inquiry would be inadequate. When one adds to that the occasions when only determined political probing has flushed the Kenya authorities from very unfortunate positions of concealment, it is clear that not much weight will be attached by anybody to the findings of a departmental investigation. The Opposition should continue to press its demand that the allegations of Captain Law and others must be tested by independent inquiry."

In the *Observer* (March 1, 1959) it was reported that "many M.P.s admit to feeling a grave disparity in the Government's decision to hold an inquiry into the allegations of ill treatment made by John Waters of Thurso against the police, while refusing a Kenya inquiry pressed by 200 M.P.s. But Labour will pursue its campaign to establish the true facts about Kenya's prisons."

Tanganyika

T.A.N.U. Wins Again

In the second round of the elections for the Legislative Council, T.A.N.U. members, or T.A.N.U. supported candidates, won the fifteen seats to be filled—twelve of them had been unopposed. In Dar-es-Salaam out of 8,000 voters, less than 3,000 were Africans. Mr. Julius Nyerere, president of T.A.N.U. and chairman of the Tanganyika Elected Members' Organization, said that the results showed that T.A.N.U. was supported in its demands for responsible government and that they had a mandate not only from the indigenous Tanganyikans, but also from immigrant Tanganyikans. (*Tanganyika Standard*, February 11, 1959.)

A representative of the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* (February 1, 1959) said: "What is the secret of Nyerere's success, I asked a European candidate in Tanganyika. 'The further he goes, the more level-headed he seems to become,' was the answer."

Constitutional Changes

Far-reaching constitutional changes were announced by the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, on March 17. He said that the number of Ministers was to be increased from nine to twelve from July 1, and five of them would be unofficials—three of these five will be Africans. They will comprise the Council of Ministers which will assume the primary function of the present Executive Council—advising the Governor in the exercise of certain powers conferred by the constitution and by legislation. Sir Richard said that the appointment of unofficial Ministers denoted another major step towards self-government.

During his speech to the Legislative Council the Governor gave a "solemn warning" that further constitutional advances depended upon the maintenance of law and order. He said that already the turbulence of a few—in Lake Province—had hampered developments in the field of natural resources, and he went on: "It would be a bitter day for the country if the ignorance, ill will and personal ambition of others halted even temporarily the constitutional progress of the Territory."

Mr. Julius Nyerere, president of the Tanganyika African National Union, commenting on Sir Richard Turnbull's speech, appealed to Africans throughout the Territory to remain peaceful and calm. He said T.A.N.U. would spend two days discussing the speech, and added: "Everyone has been waiting for it and it was a very big matter."

The Times (March 18, 1959) commented: "In constitutional terms

Tanganyika has now reached the stage when all the constituencies are represented by elected members, but the officials still control the country through a clear majority in Executive and Legislature. The principle of parity between races is in process of being superseded by the principle of African predominance."

The Manchester Guardian (March 18, 1959) said: "With a solid phalanx of voters behind him, Mr. Nyerere might not unreasonably have expected a rather longer step towards self-government now. But he might prudently consider this as a first step only, with a very good prospect of more steps to come at an early date, and as an opportunity for some of his colleagues to try their hands at administration before taking over a heavier load. It is really a question of confidence. If T.A.N.U. trusts the British Government to maintain the advance, it can take self-government by instalments; and its confidence will promote confidence elsewhere. If it is distrustful, an opportunity may have been missed: and one may look elsewhere than in Tanganyika for a spur to distrust."

Report to U.N. Trusteeship Council

Tanganyika's Special Representative, Mr. J. Fletcher-Cooke, the Minister for Constitutional Affairs, addressing the United Nations Trusteeship Council, described constitutional developments and the September election, drawing attention to the Governor's welcome statement that with self-government the Legislature and the Government were likely to be predominantly African and that this should in no way affect the security of the rights and interests of those minority communities who have made their homes in Tanganyika.

There was some anxiety over the country's financial position, for there is a potential deficit of £1 million: on the basis of the latest actual figures available, and of revised estimates, the expenditure figure for the current year is likely to be just over £20 millions, with a revenue of some £19 millions. There was likely to be lower income for several reasons, including the fall in the price of oil seed, cotton and coffee. The conclusion was therefore inescapable that the economy of the Territory was unlikely to be able to support expenditure in 1959/60 at any higher level than in 1958/59 and it may well be at a lower level. This must inevitably lead to a cutting back of the social and other services which the Territory so badly needs.

There had been continued advance in the field of education: there were 218 Tanganyika students at Makerere; there were twenty-one additional places which could have been filled if suitably qualified candidates had been forthcoming. There were thirty-three students at the Royal Technical College, Nairobi. Over and above these there were nearly 200 African students from Tanganyika taking higher education courses outside East Africa. There were 1,769 teachers in training at Teacher Training Centres in Tanganyika. In addition large numbers of students had embarked on courses of technical and vocational training within the Territory. There were eighty-seven at the Dar-es-Salaam Technical Institute, 173 at the Moshi College of Commerce (of whom fifty-three were full time) and 720 at the Trade Schools at Ifunda and Moshi. In addition over 700 students were taking courses in agriculture, handiwork, domestic science and home craft at various other centres of instruction. In 1957, 149 out of 150 African candidates from Secondary Schools had obtained school certificates.

But there were still large numbers of unfilled places in the existing territorial education system. For example, in 1958 there were over 14,000 unfilled places in Standard I of the Primary Schools and there were more than 91,000 in Standards II, III, and IV of the same schools. There were over 5,000 unfilled places in Middle Schools. Yet almost every speech by an African politician in Tanganyika contains demands for increased education facilities.

The estimate of such expansion, however, amounted to £40 millions capital and £46 millions recurrent expenditure. Against the background of a total annual budget of some £20 millions to cover all the services of Government it is abundantly clear that, however much Government may sympathize with this demand for additional education facilities, progress towards the ultimate objective must inevitably be slow, but as resources permit, they would expand facilities to the fullest extent.

A committee was investigating the problem of integrating the three racial systems of education at lower levels, and the establishment of a Muslim Institute in Zanzibar was being considered.

In 1954 there were only five African officers on the Government of Tanganyika staff list. Now there were 181 out of 238, and a number of African District Commissioners, District Officers, and Cadets had been appointed.

The first African to be appointed as one of Tanganyika's three representatives in the East African Industrial Council was Mr. Andrea Shagarai, M.B.E., secretary of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union.

The arrangements under which Williamson Diamonds Ltd. had been sold to De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. had been unanimously approved by all Members of the Legislative Council. The new management has already increased African wages and has improved conditions of service. In addition the management has under consideration proposals for training Africans for higher posts.

In the labour field thirty trade unions (compared with twenty-five in 1957), including 284 branches, were formally registered, with an estimated membership of 46,488. An expert was inquiring into wage-fixing machinery.

New Town and Rural Councils were established and the Chief's Convention had met three times. Its constitution allows for two representative chiefs from each province (with an extra one from the large Lake Province) and chiefs who are Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils are also members: a total of about twenty-seven. A Territorial Council was being considered.

In addition to the commercial banks, building societies and co-operative societies there were four main sources of credit available to Africans. The Land Bank was available to members of all races, including Africans; the facilities offered by the others, the Local Development Loan Fund, the African Productivity Loan Fund, and the Urban Housing Loan Fund, were restricted to Africans.

The number of co-operative societies had risen from 474 in 1957 to 542, with a membership of 332,000.

There were now seventy-six Government hospitals or dispensaries with beds and thirty-six Mission hospitals with resident medical practitioners, and also a number of hospitals maintained by sisal estates and other industrial concerns. There were eight African doctors in Government service. Three more are serving their internships. In addition, twenty-one students were now studying medicine at Makerere.

Continued progress in Tanganyika depended on buoyant finances and on the great mass of African opinion heeding the warnings recently given, which have been reinforced by their responsible leaders, to obey the laws.

Uganda

Constitutional Committee

THE Committee to recommend future constitutional developments for Uganda consists of thirteen Members of the Legislative Council and two other members under the chairmanship of the Administrative Secretary, Mr. John Wild. The Committee, whose terms of reference were announced last November,¹ is visiting all parts of the Protectorate to ascertain public opinion. (*Uganda Argus*, February 5, 1959.)

Correspondence between the Kabaka's Buganda Government and the Uganda Protectorate Governments on the subject of the Committee was published on March 5. The Buganda Government declared that, since the question of the common electoral roll is tied up with that of citizenship, the right time to consider the former is after the Uganda Africans have attained independence. They failed to see what useful purpose will be served by the Committee, and concluded that "in a recent memorandum from the Lukiko it was clearly stated how Buganda would deal with such questions as the Committee is empowered to discuss".

Replying, the Resident of Uganda, Mr. C. A. L. Richards, said the Governor felt Ministers had perhaps failed to understand the purpose of the Committee. The Governor hoped that the Lukiko and the people of Buganda would present their views on the subjects being considered, and regretted that the Ministers did not take the opportunity given them of suggesting names of suitable Baganda for appointment to the Committee. The Governor's offer, the letter concluded, was still open. (*Uganda News*, March 3, 1959.)

¹DIGEST VI, 4.

Mr. Wild, chairman of the Committee, said the whole question of direct elections on a common roll would be approached by the Committee "with a completely open mind". Recalling the origins of the Committee, he added that direct elections in 1961 were foreshadowed in the Buganda Agreement of 1955, and that up to the end of 1958 it had certainly received general support, although an important section of Legislative Council, mainly the African Representative Members, had expressed itself against the idea of safeguards for non-Africans.

Recently, however, Mr. Wild went on, the idea of a common roll seemed to have lost some of its appeal in certain quarters, as was evident from the views of the Kabaka's Government. These divergent views clearly demonstrated the need for the fullest and widest discussion. It was for this reason that the Committee would tour the entire country, and not until it had learnt the views of the people would it address itself strictly to its terms of reference. (*Uganda News*, March 6, 1959.)

Some indication of the divergences of opinion likely to be aroused by the Constitutional Committee was provided in the course of the debate in the Legislative Council on November 17. There was widespread accord with the Governor's expressed intention to secure the traditional rulers a position which would appropriately reflect their status and prestige. Mr. G. Magezi (Bunyoro), while endorsing Government's views on traditional rulers, denied categorically that there were Africans who were beginning to think in terms of republics. Mr. J. Bikangaga (Backbench), thought that hereditary rulers should remain, provided they did no harm. This entailed insulating them from politics. Unfortunately some of them were unwilling to accept such a position, and it was up to the Africans not to involve their rulers in political discussions and not to appeal to them when things went wrong. He pointed to Britain as an example of the retention of the monarch in spite of modern political changes.

Major A. S. Din (Representative Member) said that the preservation of the dignity of the rulers entailed the preservation of the institution of kingship. Thus the African Councils and Parliaments of the kingdoms should be divorced from the vagaries of political party fortunes. Hence he saw no reason to remonstrate too much with the decisions of the three kingdoms not to participate in the direct elections.

Expressing doubt about the narrow terms of reference, and also the composition, of the Committee, Major Din suggested that the Government should instead invite an eminent constitutional expert from Britain. He should be a man with no connexions with local politics or local personalities.

Mr. C. Obwangor (Teso) said the number of African Representative Members should be increased, and Mr. G. Magezi (Bunyoro), hoped that, after the Committee finished its work, the House would be elected under a system of proportional representation according to population.

Mr. B. Vergee (Representative Member) spoke on the question of non-Africans. While recognizing that Uganda was primarily an African state and as such Africans must predominate in every field, the great majority of non-Africans had no loyalty other than to Uganda. He warned against discrimination against Asians.

Speaking against the requirement that the Committee should examine methods of ensuring adequate representation for non-Africans in the Legislative Council, Mr. A. M. Oboto (Lango) said that if the Committee were to consider a common roll and the number of seats be filled by such methods he did not see how the question of adequate representation arose. Non-Africans in Uganda were always maintaining it was the country of their origin, and no political party was speaking against any race in Uganda. (*Proceedings of Legislative Council*.)

The correspondent of the *Kenya Weekly News* commented that the Committee was already subject to severe criticism from a number of different quarters, and that it is bound to encounter even more fiercely conflicting demands when it tours the country. Furthermore, in view of the list of Committee members and of the terms of reference, it was difficult to foresee the possibility of any substantial degree of unanimity. "If the Committee produces recommendations which are unacceptable to most other public bodies, and which are not agreed unanimously even among its own members, it is difficult to see how the report can be usefully employed as a platform on which to base any constitutional advance." He recalled the suggestion that a conference of tribal governments might

be a better body to carry out the task than a Committee of the Legislative Council, since "tribal disunity is a bigger barrier to Uganda's constitutional development into a modern state than any of the many other types of disunity . . ." He concluded, however, that at present "there seems not the slightest hope of the multitudinous conflicting interests in Uganda coming to any agreement about what they DO want. The only thing they are agreed upon is that they DON'T want anything that is sponsored by the Government. It is hard to say how any genuine constitutional advance at all can be made in these circumstances." (February 13, 1959.)

Buganda Demand for Independence¹

In reply to the Lukiko's demand for the Buganda Agreement with Britain to be terminated, the Governor of Uganda, Sir Frederick Crawford, said he was unable to approve the resolution and that no effect should therefore be given to it. He pointed out that the resolution making this demand was passed "by a Lukiko in the last days of its life". Since neither the Katikoro nor any of his colleagues had discussed the serious implications of the resolution with any member of the Administration, he had been unable to inform the Lukiko of the possible results of its action. Also Article 11 of the Buganda Agreement provided that no major changes should be made to the Constitution set out in the Agreement for a period of six years after it came into force. The Governor stated that Buganda had, since the first days of British Protection, been an integral part of the whole Protectorate. He was therefore unable to approve a resolution which put forward the suggestion of a sudden and radical departure from that position. (*Uganda News*, January 20, 1959.)

Commenting on the decision of the Lukiko to petition the Queen for an end to British protection, the *Manchester Guardian* (January 26, 1959) said: "The constitutional structure of Uganda is complex enough already, with its four provinces and its various subdivisions at different stages of political development. What would it be like if the Queen acceded to the request of the Lukiko? . . . The Governor has invited the Lukiko to say what the position would then be—in particular what would be the relations of Buganda with the remainder of the Uganda Protectorate, which in the last six years has moved a long way towards unity and self-government. The Lukiko has warily avoided an answer. Either it sees Buganda as a self-governing enclave surrounded by a larger area still in course of emerging from Colonial rule, which would dislocate the economy and the administration of the whole country, or it sees the Kabaka ruling over the whole Protectorate, as the heir to the British (or, it might say, of its own ancestors), a solution which the rest of Uganda would certainly not accept. It has indeed asked for discussions with a view to 'creating a workable formula between ourselves and these territories'. If the Lukiko had given an idea of its own idea of a 'workable formula', there would be something to go on; for this is the crux of the problem. But would anyone except the Baganda accept it? Uganda will do much better to move steadily towards self-government as a whole, without distinction between its parts."

Party Political Developments

On March 7 the newly formed Uganda Nationalist Movement declared itself opposed to the Constitutional Committee, and announced that Uganda Africans would never accept multi-racial government. The Movement aims to unite Uganda Africans to press for immediate self-government and a boycott of rural Asian traders. The chairman is Mr. Augustine Kamyia and his supporters include Mr. I. K. Musazi, founder-president of the Uganda National Congress, recently involved in a split in that organization, and Mr. E. M. K. Mulira, president of the Progressive Party. (*The Times*, March 9, 1959.)

The leaders of the new Movement, who come from almost all political parties (United Congress Party, Nationalist Party, Progressive Party, and U.N.C.), shared a common platform at one of the biggest political rallies held in Uganda in recent years. (Between 3,000 and 4,000 people were present.) The Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* commented that this allegiance could provide Uganda politics with some degree of coherence. Hitherto issues of personality have characterized nationalist political parties, and most of them were fundamentally opposed to traditionalist opinion demonstrated most explicitly by the Buganda Government. Repre-

sented in the Movement are opinions as diverse as those of the Uganda National Congress and the most extreme traditionalist factions. It remains to be seen what will be the reaction of Buganda Ministers who have been deeply opposed to independent political action. (March 3, 1959.)

The Kampala Correspondent of the *Kenya Weekly News* (February 27, 1959) commented that if the Movement had been formed two years earlier it might have succeeded. "But it has come too late. It has come at a time when intertribal suspicion and rivalry is splitting the country too widely. . . ." To judge by its leaders and their speeches, it was a victory for those seeking "Baganda tribal solidarity".

The *Uganda Argus* reported that the formation of the new Uganda Nationalist Movement followed a three-month struggle between two groups within the Uganda National Congress. Early in December, the president, Mr. Musazi, announced his suspension of six officers of the Party for "opposing basic principles of the Congress and supporting the maintenance of an office in Cairo". Three of the "suspended" officials, including the general secretary, Dr. B. N. Kununka, countered by announcing that they had suspended Mr. Musazi. (December 29, 1958.)

Thirty members walked out of a meeting of the Annual Delegates Conference called by Dr. Kununka on January 11, following a Press statement signed by six regional presidents of the U.N.C. which affirmed that the Conference had been unconstitutionally convened since its conveners had been suspended by the president-general, Mr. Musazi.

The Conference endorsed the Executive Committee's previous action on Mr. Musazi, and went further "to expel him on grounds of misconduct, breach of the Party Constitution and repeated thwarting of the Party policy and programmes". Mr. A. M. Obote was elected president in place of Mr. Musazi. The Conference unanimously approved the establishment of the Party's foreign missions "as spearheads to tear the Colonial Government's propaganda abroad about the state of affairs in Uganda". (*Uganda Argus*, January 12 and 13, 1959.)

A general assembly of the U.N.C. called by Mr. Musazi on January 17 resolved to expel the six officials whom Mr. Musazi had previously suspended, and instructed Mr. Musazi to make arrangement for the election of new officers. The meeting reiterated its criticisms of the Cairo office and those associated with it. Mr. Musazi said that Mr. Abu Mayanja, one of the expelled officials, had told him that he had been promised money for the U.N.C. from countries which were not in the Commonwealth. He added that Mr. Mayanja had recently been to Russia and China. Mr. Kiwanuka, the only one of the six officials expelled who was present, denied that the Cairo office used Communist funds. (*Uganda Argus*, December 29, January 12, 13, and 19, 1959.)

Queen Mother's Visit

Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother received a tremendous welcome from all communities during her visit to the Protectorate from February 18-28.

The Queen Mother visited the headquarters of the Kabaka's Government at Mengo, where she was presented with a range of traditional gifts from the Buganda Government. Later she was entertained by the Kabaka at a luncheon at his palace. (*Uganda News*, February 18 and 19, 1959.)

New African Labour College

The African Labour College, which will be the first permanent college in Africa designed solely for adult education, is to be built in Kampala during the next eighteen months. The building will cost some £95,000, which has been subscribed by trade unionists in the member countries of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. (*Uganda Argus*, February 3, 1959.)

Economic Advance

The cash income of Africans in Uganda rose from £38.9 millions in 1952 to £58.7 millions in 1957, Mr. R. Maltby, Uganda's Principal Trade Development Officer, said, at a meeting of members of his department and representatives of the commercial community. The fundamental purpose of his department was to increase the incentive value of consumer goods. "This demands that we concentrate on the development of African traders . . . particularly in the rural areas where incentive to spend is most needed, and most likely to produce the desired result of increased production."

Mr. Maltby added that the development of a healthy credit system between wholesaler and retailer is perhaps the greatest need for the development of trade in Uganda, and he hoped that some form of credit assistance for this purpose would be worked out in 1959. (*Uganda Argus*, December 24, 1958.)

Mineral exports from Uganda reached a record level of £2.5 millions in 1958. Of this total, £2,137,000 was derived from the large increase in copper production at the Kilembe Mines, whose output rose from 7,468 tons in 1957 to 10,915 tons in 1958. A further rise is expected in 1959 owing to the launching of a new expansion programme by the Kilembe authorities. Gold worth £3,500 was exported in 1958, about 50 per cent more than in 1957. (*Uganda Argus*, February 4, 1959.)

Nineteen-fifty-eight was a record year for Uganda's fishing industry. A Fisheries Officer attributed the rise in production to the use of better equipment and added that credit facilities are available from the African Loan Fund for fishermen wishing to invest in fishing gear, boats, curing facilities and transport. (*Uganda Argus*, February 2, 1959.)

The problem of the over-production of cement is being discussed by the Uganda Cement Industry Ltd. (a subsidiary of the Uganda Development Corporation) and two other cement manufacturers in East Africa. The three factories are capable of producing nearly twice the estimated present production of the three East African territories, and an agreement is being sought on a means of sharing the present restricted market.

The Uganda Coffee Industry Board is to reduce the guaranteed minimum price paid to growers from 80 cents to 65 cents (100 cents = 1 shilling). Since the previous price of 80 cents was introduced in October, 1958, world coffee prices have fallen so sharply that the Board anticipates having to withdraw about £1,750,000 from its Price Assistance Fund to pay the guaranteed 80 cents since then. The Uganda Government announced its intention to introduce a price support scheme to enable associations of coffee growers licensed to operate estate factories to enjoy the benefits of the Price Assistance Fund, even though they sell their coffee direct to the world market and not through the Government's Coffee Industry Board. (*Uganda News*, February 11, 1959.)

A Bill to guarantee loans totalling £8½ millions to be raised for the East African Railways was approved by the Uganda Legislative Council. (*Uganda Argus*, February 4, 1959.)

The Uganda Ministry of Works received a Colonial Development and Welfare Grant of £218,000 towards the cost of major road improvements.

The cost of living in Kampala has increased by 36 per cent since 1952. The two major items in this rise were wages of domestic servants (76 per cent increase) and food, drink and tobacco (42 per cent increase). Rents are not included in this calculation. (*Uganda News*, February 11 and March 5, 1959.)

Education

Buganda Lukiko expressed concern at Uganda's new Education Bill, and asked that it be held back on the ground that it will retard the progress of education. It gives more powers for the control of private schools and provides for the licensing of teachers. Members fear that this will create a shortage of teachers in many schools, especially in Buganda, since the number of trained teachers is not sufficient to meet the needs of the country.

The United Congress Party also launched a protest against the Bill, as it would lead to the closure of private schools as well as many others.

Announcing the new plan for primary and secondary education in Uganda, the Minister of Education and Labour, Mr. G. B. Cartland, said that the number of African primary pupils had increased from 1,500 in 1953 to 40,000 in 1957. The plan envisaged a considerable increase in the number of people leaving secondary schools to fill the needs created by approaching self-government. (*Uganda Argus*, January 28 and February 4, and *The Times*, February 6, 1959.)

Woman Appointed Backbench Member

Mrs. Florence Lubega has been appointed a Backbench Member of Uganda Legislative Council. She is the third African woman to become a Member of the Council. Mrs. Lubega is teaching at her husband's school at Mityana, and is a member of the Makerere College Council and of the Singo Saza Council. (*Uganda Argus*, February 2, 1959.)

Acholi Drop Kabaka Issue

The Acholi District Council decided "in the interests of close co-operation and unity" not to send a letter to the Katikiro of Buganda, telling him that the people of Acholi would not accept the Kabaka as the ruler of Uganda. (*Uganda Argus*, January 1, 1959.)

Accra Conference Call for Uganda Independence

Among the subsidiary resolutions passed at the Accra conference was one calling for Uganda's immediate independence and condemning any attempt to "curb and delay" independence by introducing unacceptable special reservation of seats for non-African communities in the country's Parliament and Government. This was announced by Mr. B. N. Kununka, secretary-general of the Uganda National Congress, who attended the conference.

Mr. Kununka said that the conference's resolution on tribalism and traditional institutions was not directed at any of Uganda's hereditary rulers, but only at traditional leaders and institutions who were "supporting colonialism". (*Uganda Argus*, December 23, 1958.)

Africanization

The Uganda Government's overall target of filling about one-quarter of the Civil Service posts on Scales A and B with Africans should be achieved—and doubtless in some categories exceeded—by 1962/3. This is stated by the chairman of the Public Service Commission, Sir Richard Ramage, in his latest annual report.

Sir Richard said there was no doubt that the Africanization of the Civil Service was now definitely moving. Only the administration and the police might not achieve the target of Africanizing about 25 per cent of the A and B Scale posts, but in both instances special measures were being taken to remedy the deficiency. (*Uganda News*, March 16, 1959.)

British Somaliland

Political Advance

THE Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, on a visit to Somaliland, announced that by the end of 1960 the Territory would have an elected unofficial majority in the Legislative Council and a ministerial system with Somali Ministers as members of the Executive Council. After that, such steps as would become necessary would be taken to lead to early self-government.

Referring to the desire of many Somalis for closer association with Somalia, he said that if after Somalia became independent the Somaliland Legislative Council resolved that talks should take place on the union of the two countries, and Somalia agreed to these talks, arrangements would be made for them to take place. Whatever the eventual destiny of the Protectorate, he said, Her Majesty's Government would continue to take an interest in the welfare of the Somali people and would give sympathetic consideration to the continuation of financial assistance to the country.

He also told Somali tribal leaders that the Legislative Council elections arranged for March would take place, but that fresh elections would have to be held next year, probably during the early part of 1960, when most of the people would be in the Protectorate. (*Somaliland News*, February 16, 1959.)

The Times (February 11, 1959) said: "The special circumstance that justifies the decision, indeed makes it inevitable, is the fact that Somalia will become independent when the U.N. Trusteeship ends next year."

The Prime Minister of the Trust Territory of Somalia, Abdullah Issa, sent a cable to the Emperor Haile Selassie protesting against Ethiopia's alleged opposition to the proposed union of Somaliland and Somalia. He asked the Emperor to re-examine this decision, adding that the Somalia Government desired "to maintain and develop friendly relations with Ethiopia".

In reply, the Ethiopian Foreign Ministry said that Ethiopian Government statements were never directed against any Somali people, but against two world Powers which exerted pressure on Ethiopia. It added that if it had not been for Ethiopia's and Liberia's insistence ten years ago, in the

United Nations, on a fixed date for Somalia's independence, Somalia would not now be approaching independence in 1960. What Ethiopia in fact opposed was "any attempt to impair her territorial integrity". (*The Times*, February 19, 1959.)

Elections for five of the thirteen elected seats in the reconstructed Legislative Council were held on March 18. Michael Mariano, the vice-president of the National United Front, was amongst those elected. Seven members were returned unopposed and there was no candidate in one district.

Somalia

Riots in Mogadishu

ONE man was killed and sixteen people were injured in riots in Mogadishu. The riots followed two incidents involving the throwing of a home-made bomb in a café and an attack on an Italian resident. The police carried out a number of arrests of members of the Greater Somalia League Party, which led to some street fighting. The League's president, Haji Mohamed Hussein, was among those arrested.

The *Somaliland News* (March 2, 1959) said: "The Greater Somalia League stands for the formation of a Greater Somalia, incorporating a number of neighbouring territories. This is undoubtedly the common objective of all Somalis. . . .

"Haji Mohamed was originally president of the Somali Youth League, but started the Greater Somalia League after he was expelled from the Youth League last May. . . . Observers believe that [his] policy for a Somali republic would be to link it with the United Arab Republic."

SUDAN

Resignation of Supreme Council

AFTER a period of rumour about unrest in the Army, General Abboud announced that he had accepted the resignation of all twelve of his fellow members of the Supreme Military Council—Sudan's sovereign body since the November coup. The resignations took place in a quiet atmosphere, unruffled by any disturbances, but troops were on guard in the streets of Khartoum.

The Times (March 9, 1959) commented: "It seems that the resignation of the . . . Council is due purely to a clash of senior military personalities. Certainly, there has been no suggestion that the former political parties or the influential religious sects are involved. Nor is there any suggestion of outside influence from Communist, Egyptian or other sources. The move apparently springs from keen professional competition for promotion.

"It was thought that differences within the Council . . . had been patched up. Major-General Ahmed Abdel Wahab, the Minister of the Interior, who has often been described as the strong man of the régime, seemed then to be on close terms with General Abboud."

Following a meeting of military commanders, a new Council of ten members was formed. After this new Council had taken the oath, it decided to relieve Major-General Ahmed Abdel Wahab of all his duties. General Wahab, who had just been sworn in as second member of the newly-constituted Council had been Minister of the Interior and Local Government for nearly four months.

William Harcourt, a former Sudan Civil Servant, writing in the *News Chronicle* (March 6, 1959) said: "The cause of these recurrent crises is the Sudan's desperate economic position. Last year the Sudan faced a £15 millions balance of payments deficit, and the situation has further deteriorated these last few months. The Government has been desperately seeking foreign aid. . . .

"The Sudan needs at least a further £24 millions to stabilize her economy and to continue her modest development schemes. Unless this aid is forthcoming within a matter of months, it is almost certain that the Sudan will disintegrate as a state."

Visit of Marshal Tito

Marshal Tito, President of Yugoslavia, paid a State visit to General Abboud from February 12-18. A joint communiqué said, *inter alia*: "The two Presidents welcome the emergence of new independent states in Africa and Asia and noted that the advent of these states has a positive influence on international relations. They will exert further efforts for the elimination of colonialism from international life and for the recognition of the right of all nations to decide their destiny. They particularly condemn all forms of discrimination, racial, national or on the basis of colour.

"Both Presidents express their concern over the existing armaments race, and are opposed to the testing of nuclear weapons. They note with satisfaction that hitherto Africa has been free from such horrible experiments, and they are determined to oppose the starting of such experiments in the Continent of Africa under any circumstances." (*Sudan News Bulletin*, February 19, 1959.)

Trade Relations

Sayed Ahmed Mohamed Kheir, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the course of a review of the aims and achievements of the new régime said: "We have successfully negotiated and concluded a number of barter deals with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. We have placed our trade relations with the United Arab Republic on a working basis again. We have secured credits and loans from the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany and look for more. We have done away with restrictions and limitations which hindered us from making full use of the American Aid. We have welcomed the visit of the Soviet Economic Delegation, and are looking forward to it. Our persistent contacts and efforts are bearing fruit in the opening of new markets for our products. The offer of our sister country, Ethiopia, to buy cotton to the tune of 1 million Sudanese pounds is all the more appreciated because we consider it a gesture of goodwill, and a token of friendship." (*Sudan News Bulletin*, February 26, 1959.)

SOUTH AFRICA

Treason Trial¹

THE trial of thirty accused began on January 19. There was later an adjournment for the Defence to study further particulars supplied by the Crown only on January 10 and 11. (*Star*, January 19, 20 and 21, and *The Times*, February 7, 1959.)

When the Court resumed on February 2, Mr. Nicholas opened the Defence attack on the indictment, submitting that it was "defective on the face of it and bad in law", and applying for it to be quashed on the ground that it disclosed no offence and was vague and embarrassing. He argued that "conspiracy" should have its usual meaning in law—that there was an agreement—and not the meaning attached by the Crown that there was "an agreement by participation".

Mr. Nicholas submitted that there was no treason statute in South Africa. At common law the only examples of treason fell into three classes—aiding the enemy in time of war, plotting against the Monarch, and waging war against the State internally. The offence charged in the present indictment clearly fell into the third group. However, the indictment did not allege rebellion, revolution or outbreak of violence. The Crown alleged only *active preparation*, not by military measures, but only by acts such as holding meetings, making speeches, and the writing and publishing of documents.

Words could only be alleged to be treason when there was incitement to sedition, but with possibly a few exceptions, none of the speeches relied on could constitute such incitement. After reading speeches relating to the Natives' Resettlement Act and the Bantu Education Act, he asked whether calling upon the people to resist these Acts could possibly be said to be advocating the overthrow of the State: "When does the crime of treason begin to be committed? The answer to that is to be found in the thin line which divides political from treasonable activity. Politics and civil war have a common purpose to change the government. By politics it is done peacefully; in civil war, by force. So long as the subject follows the paths of

¹DIGEST IV, 4-5; V, 1-VI, 4.

politics and makes speeches, however imprudent, however distasteful, that is not treason."

Dealing with the Crown interpretation of certain speeches alleged to be material to Part B of the indictment ("advocating and propagating unconstitutional and illegal action, including the use of violence as a means of achieving the aforesaid conspiracy"), Mr. Nicholas argued that in the speeches relating to "volunteers" there was no incitement to violence but merely a call for volunteers and strong protests against the Western Areas Removal Scheme and certain legislation. In these speeches the volunteers were called upon to face death, but not to commit acts of violence. (*Rand Daily Mail, Pretoria News, and Star*, February 3, 1959.)

Mr. S. Kentridge dealt with Part E of the indictment: "In pursuance of the aforesaid conspiracy, and more particularly as part of the active preparation for the violent overthrow of the State . . . the accused did pledge themselves to work together and campaign for the achievement in their lifetime of the demands set forth in the Freedom Charter.¹ [Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws; The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africa, shall be restored to the people; The mineral wealth of the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and the land redivided amongst those who work in it, to banish famine and land hunger; All shall have the right to occupy land where they choose.] The achievement in their lifetime of the demands . . . would to the knowledge of the accused necessarily involve, and was intended by the accused to involve, the overthrow of the State by violence."

Mr. Kentridge said that the phrase "in their lifetime" was vague for lack of particularity and embarrassing to the point of unintelligibility; that since there was nothing constitutional to prevent these demands from being realized without force, the allegation that the accused "knew" they could only be achieved by force was a conclusion drawn by the Crown who should, thus, have given particulars; and that quite apart from the particulars, the Court could not adjudicate upon this issue since it was not impossible that the legislature would repeal certain of the laws involved. The Court could not be guided by speculation as to what Parliament would or would not do.

To interjection by Mr. Pirow, Q.C., for the Crown, that these demands could not be achieved by the accused in their lifetime, Mr. Kentridge replied that the Crown had itself defined the phrase "in their lifetime" as meaning five years from June 1955: "They give this figure so they can argue that in this short time everything the accused planned to achieve . . . could not possibly be achieved by any other means than by overthrowing the State." Dealing in the same way with the Crown interpretation of certain alleged speeches by the accused, Mr. Kentridge said that if a word had no precise meaning it had no place in the indictment: the Crown could not "make their own dictionary".

Mr. Kentridge then dealt with the Defence request for further particulars about the "international liberatory movement" introduced by the Crown "as part of an innuendo" and occurring several times in Parts C and D of the indictment. He said there was no evidence of the "movement" in the preparatory examination or anywhere else; the innuendo thus lacked particularity and was embarrassing to the accused.

Mr. Maisels then dealt with Part B of the indictment, arguing that "treason is a crime distinguished by the means used rather than the end aimed at". Therefore it was essential for the Crown to show that illegal means were agreed upon; but the Crown claimed it could not give that information and had refused to indicate on which speeches it relied to prove violence, saying that the Defence should be able to judge for itself. The Crown had failed to produce any evidence of acts of violence committed by the people alleged to have been incited against the State.

After further argument, Mr. Pirow told the Court that the Crown did not rely on any act of violence in South Africa by any of the accused, or by the co-conspirators. (*Star, Rand Daily Mail and Pretoria News*, February 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1959.)

Opening the Crown argument against the application to quash the indictment, Mr. Pirow said that the 5,000 documents and 1,700 speeches

¹DIGEST V, 1, 4 and 5.

upon which the Crown relied were "not by any means excessive". No matter how innocent an act might be, if it could be proved to have been done in furtherance of a conspiracy and treason then it was, by itself, treason. The alleged conspiracy was one act and not a number of separate acts. Therefore it could not be split up as the Defence wished. Taking this argument further, Mr. J. J. Trengove said that a conspiracy to overthrow the State by violence could be inferred from the documents and speeches relied on: intelligent reading of any speech would clearly show what use the Crown intended to make of it.

Mr. J. de Vos, Q.C., arguing on the part of the indictment dealing with the Freedom Charter, said that the Crown would submit that the accused intended to work together to achieve the demands it set out in their lifetimes—"that is to say in about five years".

Mr. Justice Bekker: "How did the Crown get that to mean five years? Is it a necessary inference?"

Mr. de Vos: "I see your Lordship's difficulty."

Mr. Justice Rumpff: "What are you going to do about it?"

After conferring with Mr. Pirow, Mr. de Vos said the required particulars would be supplied later.

When these particulars had been supplied, Mr. Kentridge argued that they did not support the Crown's claim: a number of the speeches relied on had been made by persons who were not accused and not even cited as co-conspirators. He read out other particularized speeches in which there was no reference to "in our lifetime" or to five years. When asked if any of the speeches relied on had a reference to five years, he said he did not wish to be unfair to the Crown: there was a speech in which someone had said: "Luthuli will come after Malan." At this, Mr. Justice Rumpff said: "Surely the Crown can't be relying on the [last] election!"

When the hearing was resumed on March 2, the application to quash the indictment was refused and the Crown was ordered to inform each of the thirty accused on which facts, speeches and documents it relied in support of its inference that it was the policy or part of the policy of each of the organizations cited to use violence against the State.

Mr. Maisels asked the Judges to reserve for the Appellate Division certain questions of law involved in their refusal to quash the indictment. His application was allowed and the Court was adjourned until May 18 to allow the matter to be tested in the Appeal Court. (*Pretoria News and Star*, March 2, 1959.)

The *Scotsman* (March 5, 1959) wrote: "There is no precedent for such a procedure in the annals of either British or South African Law. . . . [But] quite obviously the length of the treason trial made it desirable that the defence's objections to the indictment should be tested in the highest court in the land."

Mr. Edward St. John, Q.C., a member of the Australian Bar, attended the trial during the first two weeks of February as an observer for "Justice", the British section of the International Commission of Jurists. (*Sunday Times*, February 8, 1959.)

The *Star* (February 10, 1959) wrote: "Dr. Edvard Hambro, a distinguished Scandinavian lawyer and a former registrar of the International Court of Justice, has made an original comment in some reflections on our racial laws. In a report quoted by the *Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists*, for whom he acted as an observer in the early stages of the . . . treason trial, he noted that in the Union any action 'calculated to cause hostility' between Whites and non-Whites is a punishable offence. So, too, anything designed to encourage feelings of hostility between the races falls under the statutory definition of Communism for which our law provides penalties. If that is the case, contends Dr. Hambro, those responsible for such legislation are themselves guilty of the very misdeeds for which they would punish others. *Apartheid* policies, as he sees them, could be a contravention of the law against creating interracial ill will, since the act of implementing them could perpetuate hostility. Discriminatory law, [he] goes on to say, must necessarily 'encourage feelings of hostility'. While giving their actions the stamp of legality they would thus in fact be violating the anti-Communist law even more than the person questioning the legal and moral validity of what they are doing. . . .

"Behind this fanciful idea lies a truth which the critical observer can perceive more readily than we who are in the thick of events. . . . It is impossible to go about proclaiming interminably, as political leaders in

this country have proclaimed, that the White man must fear the Black man as his eternal enemy without provoking a reaction from the other side. If this results in attitudes and acts of hostility from both quarters the ultimate blame surely rests with those who started the vicious process. Is that not precisely the situation stigmatized and made punishable by the law? When we come to think of it, Dr. Hambro's reasoning is not quite as fantastic as it seems."

A sum of £2,000 was raised for the Treason Trial Defence Fund at an auction sale in Johannesburg. Opening the sale, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank, Archbishop of Cape Town, said there were too many people who had possibly prejudged the outcome of the trial. The State had employed an array of brilliant counsel and it was right that the accused should have equivalent representation. He appealed to every "decent citizen in the country" to support the fund.

University "Apartheid"

The *Manchester Guardian* wrote: "The last and what promises to be the most bitter round in the three-year fight to impose *apartheid* on the universities of South Africa opened in Parliament . . . when the Opposition took the unusual step of debating and voting against the first reading stages of two Bills. One measure is designed to prevent the Cape Town and Witwatersrand Universities from accepting non-White students as they do at present. It also provides for the establishment of university colleges, for Africans only, in Zululand and the Northern Transvaal. The second Bill transfers control of the African college at Fort Hare to the Department of Bantu Education, and will eliminate from Fort Hare all but African students (at present it accepts Indian and Coloured students). (February 27, 1959.)"

Pretoria News reported that no more non-White students from outside the Union were to be admitted to Fort Hare; this would create vacancies for those turned away from Cape Town and Witwatersrand Universities. (February 26, 1959.)

A report published by the Fort Hare University College in protest against its transfer to the Department of Bantu Education said that the Bill would reduce the College to a Government institution and create an "unfavourable effect" between the European and non-European staff members. "We also do not accept that a compulsory rigid division between the different races in university education is either necessary or desirable. It is also not practicable, as neither Fort Hare nor the other proposed non-European colleges could, in the foreseeable future, supply all the academic needs of non-Europeans." The Council of Fort Hare decided to present a petition for leave to be heard at the Bar of the House before the Second Reading of the Fort Hare Transfer Bill, and decided to present a petition opposing the Bill when it is under consideration by a Select Committee after the Second Reading. (*Pretoria News*, February 26, and *Rand Daily Mail*, February 28, 1959.)

The Fort Hare Students Representative Council said: "Our attitude is one of uncompromising opposition because the Bill is based upon discrimination. Nobody can doubt that from an educational point of view the Bill is an extension of Bantu Education to higher levels of learning. The African people are witnessing with pain and anguish what Bantu Education is in practice in the primary schools. Even those who were doubtful at first are having their eyes opened at the result of the practical application of the Act in the primary schools. What Fort Hare students demand is free, compulsory, universal and equal education for all children, and the opening to all of higher education and technical training."

Addressing the opening assembly of the College, Professor Raymond Burrows, the Principal, said: "The danger is not merely that our own forty-three-year-old college may be sacrificed on the altar of tribal *apartheid* which we scorn, but that the reputation of all South African universities will be gravely threatened in an increasingly critical world."

"Strong opposition" was also expressed by Mr. Joseph Matjie, president of the S.R.C. at the Pius XII University College in Basutoland. "Contact among different races is an essential part of education," he said. "By a university we understand an intellectual institution where one of the main aims is the search for truth. The proposed Government institutions cannot achieve this purpose." (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 26, and *Pretoria News*, March 4 and 5, 1959.)

There were several students' protests in different parts of the Union.

The United States National Student Association cabled the National Union of South African Students: "The elected representatives of one million American students affiliated to the Association through the student governments of 375 universities have specifically denounced at their Eleventh National Congress the policy of racial discrimination in higher education in South Africa, as embodied in *apartheid* and exemplified in current legislation. The Association views this legislation as unwise because it undermines its supporters' own need for a peaceful, prosperous South Africa for one and all. It is immoral because it ignores the dignity of every human person, and retrogressive because it eliminates the conditions necessary for a true university."

A cable from Professor A. J. Ayer, Professor of Philosophy at London University, said: "I strongly support your campaign against the introduction of *apartheid* in South African universities. I consider the measure a gross violation of academic freedom." A cable from the Scottish Union of Students read: "The Scottish Union of Students, representing 27,000 students of the four universities and twenty-two colleges of Scotland, strongly protests at the proposed reintroduction of the Universities *Apartheid* Bill." (*Sunday Times*, January 25, 1959.)

A resolution adopted by the Oxford University Conservative Association described the Government's intention as "an infringement of academic freedom". The Oxford University Socialist Club sent a telegram of protest to the South Africa High Commissioner in London. Oxford University students, in a demonstration organized by the Oxford University Labour Club and the University's Africa Society, went to South Africa House on February 11. About thirty students—men and women, including several Africans from Tanganyika and West Africa—took part, carrying placards reading "Oxford students protest against *apartheid* in universities" and "No segregation in South African universities". A South Africa House spokesman said that one man, representing the students, saw the High Commissioner's secretary and asked him to place on record the Oxford protest. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 26 and February 12, 1959.)

Sixty-six national student organizations, representing almost six million students in all parts of the world outside the Russian bloc, unanimously decided to launch campaigns in their home countries to indicate their strong opposition to the Union Government's university *apartheid* plans, when the International Student Conference met in Lima, Peru. South Africa was represented at the Conference by three student leaders, Mr. N. Rubin and Mr. M. Gunther, president and vice-president of N.U.S.A.S., and Mr. L. Mutambanengwe, of Fort Hare, who was elected one of the five full-time secretaries of the international organization. He is on a lecture-tour of the United States, and will then travel to the Netherlands headquarters of the organization. (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 5, 1959.)

The National Union of Students appealed to universities and colleges to raise funds for as many non-European South Africans as possible to go to Cape Town and the Witwatersrand Universities before they were barred from entry. The money is channelled through the World University Students' organization to the Non-European Students' Scholarship Fund in South Africa and the African Medical Students' Trust Fund. At Oxford just under £1,500 has been raised so far, mainly by college junior common rooms. Wadham College has raised £210; Keble £175; Magdalen £106; and Worcester about £123, among others. In all, Mr. Crennan, the president of the N.U.S., thought that £7,000 to £10,000 would be raised for this purpose in the next couple of months.

Other long-term scholarship schemes have been in operation for several years. At Bristol the Assegai Society already has a Basuto "Huddleston" scholar doing a training course at the Department of Education there. It was announced on March 5 at Oxford that the Joint Action Committee Against Racial Intolerance had raised the necessary £2,000 for its William Brogden Scholarship to bring a non-European South African to Oxford. Almost all universities have similar schemes. Reading has raised about £1,000 so far, and Southampton about £1,500. . . . The London address of the World University Service is 59 Gloucester Place, W.1. (*The Times Educational Supplement*, March 13, 1959.)

The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* (March 1, 1959) reported: "An urgent conference of all universities in South Africa is to be called to discuss the future of university education in the Union. . . . This decision

was reached at a meeting in Johannesburg of representatives of the Conventions of the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town and Natal, and a representative of the University College of Fort Hare. The conference was the first of its kind ever called in South Africa."

The representatives at the meeting expressed their "strong and continuing opposition to university apartheid".

They were "opposed in principle to academic segregation on racial grounds" and were "convinced that the proposed new tribal colleges cannot and never will be the academic equals of established universities, and that they will not be able to provide education of a genuine university standard". The proposed legislation was "a grave threat to the whole fabric of university education . . ."

Another Student "Spy"

Much publicity was given, in both South Africa and in London, to the case of a twenty-year-old student at the University of the Witwatersrand, who was said to have admitted that she made regular reports to the Security Police on the political and other activities of her fellow students. A tape recording of her "confession" had been made by members of the Students' Representative Council and she was stated to have received £5 a month for her reports. The S.R.C. had called on the University Council to set up a commission of inquiry to investigate police activities in the University. (*South Africa*, February 28, 1959.)

Questioned about the matter in Parliament, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, declined to give any information about the activities of the Security Branch. Referring to a newspaper report that the students had used "Gestapo methods" to obtain a confession from the alleged informer, he said that he had read Press transcriptions of the tape recording and that if "such methods" were used at the University it was high time the authorities there took active steps against them.

Mr. Justice Ludorf granted an order restraining the editor of the Johannesburg *Sunday Express*, Mr. H. H. Huxham, from giving the name or publishing a photograph of the girl, who was described in the order as "a woman who did espionage work for the police at the University". The first small edition of the paper had gone to press by the time the order was received and distribution of this edition was permitted. The front page of subsequent editions was changed to carry an article commenting on Mr. Swart and the Police Commissioner, Major-General C. I. Rademeyer.

The *Sunday Express* (March 1, 1959) reported that Mr. Huxham would contest the order in the Supreme Court on the grounds that it had been "unnecessary" and had involved him in needless legal costs.

When the matter was heard later in the Rand Supreme Court, Mr. Justice de Wet discharged the order. A photograph of the alleged informer was published in Johannesburg afternoon papers on the same day and her name was given as Pricilla Rosemary Lefson. It was stated that she had denied either spying for the Security Police or receiving payment from them. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 12, 1959.)

A statement issued by the Council of the University of the Witwatersrand said: "Until the University Council is in possession of all the facts relating to the so-called 'blonde spy' incident, the Council is not in a position to state its views on this particular case.

"It is clearly not improper for any person who is aware of illegal activities to inform the police, but it is normally desirable that students should first approach the university authorities if they have reason to suspect illegal activities in their midst. The Council will obviously not countenance any form of illegal activity among its students.

"The Council affirms that it is not consistent with the interests of the University or in conformity with recognized standards of behaviour that students should accept employment as police informers with a mandate to spy upon their fellow students." (*Pretoria News*, March 3, 1959.)

Major-General Rademeyer said in a newspaper article that anyone trying to make a political issue out of the case would get "a kick in the pants", and that parliamentary questioners would "not get very far". Mr. H. G. Lawrence (U.P.), describing these remarks as "a breach of privilege", said they were a clear threat to members of the Opposition, a warning to them not to put questions in the House about matters affecting the Security Police. Mr. Swart replied that the Commissioner's remarks had referred

¹DIGEST V, 3.

not to M.P.s but to Witwatersrand students who had flown to Cape Town to "listen to questions". The Speaker ruled that the article did not refer to M.P.s or affect their rights in any way. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 19, 1959.)

In a search for the original tape recording, members of the Special Branch raided various offices and houses. It was later reported that the police were to be sued for allegedly causing "damage involving £500 in each case". (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 25, 1959.)

Passes for Africans: Police Break Up Women's Meetings

The South African Liberal Party, and members of an Anglican Mission near Pretoria, are among those demanding a judicial inquiry into police behaviour when a meeting of 2,000 African women, many of them with babies on their backs, was broken up by the police. The meeting was held in a hall in Lady Selborne, an African township, to hear a report from a delegation who had visited the Native Commissioner to get particulars about the application of the pass laws to African women.

The *Pretoria News* (February 27, 1959) gave a report by Miss Hannah Stanton, of the Tumelong Mission at the location: "From eyewitness accounts we gather that the meeting was perfectly orderly and quiet. . . . There does not appear to have been any warning given by the police that [it] should disperse. Suddenly the police invaded the hall and began hitting the women with batons. [They] surrounded the main exit and the other exit appeared to have been blocked. The women panicked. Children fell and were lost. Garments and property were lost. Many women were hit and badly injured and were chased by the police outside. On what grounds," Miss Stanton asked, "did the police enter and break up this orderly meeting with violence?"

The clash lasted an hour and a half, and the police were stoned. Twenty-two people, including a European constable, were injured.

The London *Times* reported that the Pretoria Municipality was giving a lead in encouraging policemen to "use discretion" in dealing with technical offenders who were obviously respectable citizens. They were referring to the Criminal Laws Amendment Act, providing for arrests under the pass laws to be eliminated by offenders being given a "ticket" analogous to those given by traffic police. (February 17, 1959.)

Nine Africans who were arrested after the community hall meeting including one of the speakers, Dr. P. Tsele (an official of the African National Congress), appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court charged with unlawfully organizing or addressing a meeting, using bad and slanderous language in public, maliciously damaging property, and assaulting the police. (*Pretoria News*, February 28, 1959.)

The Rev. A. V. Campbell, chairman of the Pretoria Joint Action Council for Human Rights, and Mr. John Brink, chairman of the Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party, issued a joint statement claiming that the community hall meeting was not illegal and that the degree of force employed by the police had been excessive. For these reasons, they demanded a judicial inquiry. Although all requests for an inquiry had been "bluntly turned down by the Minister of Justice", a senior police official had indicated that if specific complaints were made or charges laid the matter would be fully investigated. (*Pretoria News*, March 5, 1959.)

The *Star* commented: "The activities of the Special Branch excite more and more misgivings; but even the conduct of the ordinary police in their dealings with the [African] population gives cause for concern. Every public protest by [Africans] against legislation affecting them is nowadays liable to develop, as a matter of routine, into a clash with the police." (March 2, 1959.) The *Star* later commented that the initiative in instituting an inquiry should come from the Minister of Justice, "who should be deeply concerned to dispel any suggestion of high-handed police action in interfering with the elementary freedoms of assembly and speech". (March 5, 1959.)

More than 300 Non-Europeans were arrested during a pre-dawn police raid in Lady Selborne. The Deputy Commissioner of Police for the Transvaal said that they had been arrested for various "pass" offences and were being detained for "screening". Later, he told a deputation from the Tumelong Mission that the raid had been carried out "mainly to look for firearms".

The *Rand Daily Mail* (February 28, 1959) reported that police had used batons to disperse 250 African women who had demonstrated against the issuing of reference books at Veeplaats, near Port Elizabeth. Several of the women were injured, while a Press car and a Port Elizabeth Divisional Council vehicle were slightly damaged by stones. One woman was arrested.

Two Africans lost their lives in a fire which gutted a factory in Johannesburg. It was believed that they had gone back into the building in a vain effort to rescue their reference books. (*Pretoria News*, February 13, 1959.)

Crime and Punishment

The Commissioner of Police reported that 3,382 murders had been investigated in 1956, an increase of 473 over the figures for 1955. Serious crimes had increased by 21,840 cases, or 11.26 per cent. The total for 1956 was 215,825 reported cases. Of the 1,940 murder cases sent for trial, 2,069 people had been indicted on the capital charge and 598 had been convicted. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 9, 1959.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* commented: "The moral of this is a familiar one. The fighting of crime is not merely a matter of fighting the criminal, but also of fighting the conditions that produce crimes. This is where preventive measures in this country have so far been least effective. It is not enough to increase the police force and improve its methods of detection. . . . This is a complex multi-racial society of many cross-currents and tensions. It is surely time to consider how far these circumstances are reflected in the crime rate. . . . It is an accepted fact that much crime is the result of frustrations and resentments, both social and economic, and of conditions where people live in want, denial and desperation. . . . Until [these conditions] are ameliorated measures taken against crime will have the effect only of a palliative and not a cure." (February 10, 1959.)

Commenting on the Minister of Justice's statement in Parliament giving statistics of flogging and serious crime in South Africa, the *Pretoria News* said: "Once again the old disturbing pattern stands revealed. Since the Nationalist Government came into power in 1948 the number of criminals to receive corporal punishment has increased nearly fourfold. In the same time serious crime has gone up by 66 per cent. . . . It is anomalous that an administration which has been steadily moving towards a more enlightened and progressive prison system should retain a compulsory form of punishment which may further brutalize individuals whose reformation and rehabilitation is admitted to be the main concern of the State." (February 13, 1959.)

The *Star* wrote: "Every [African] man in the cities can expect to be 'run in' by the police at least once a year. This fact emerges from [the] official figures, which show that the incredible total of 1,250,000 [Africans] are prosecuted every year for trifling offences. A substantial number—probably between 150,000 and 200,000—who have been detained and prosecuted are acquitted in the courts. The great proportion of the offences are minor—involving infringements of the pass laws, labour regulations, movement control and curfew restrictions. The average [African] walks about in constant danger of arrest for some technical offence. . . ." (February 10, 1959.)

During the debate on the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill the Minister of Justice defended the retention of a clause providing for compulsory flogging for certain offences on the grounds that it was necessary "to establish uniformity and to eliminate the human element". (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 19, 1959.)

An editorial in the *Rand Daily Mail* (February 13, 1959) said: "A life for a life has, rightly or wrongly, been the basis of our criminal law for generations, and yesterday the State, with stern precision, took the lives of six men who had been found guilty of murder. This number must in itself arouse comment. There were, however, three further executions yesterday which no householder or citizen can overlook. These were [of] men who had been convicted of an attempt at armed robbery and an attempt at murder. This, so far as we know, is the first time in the Union's history that the State, which acts in the name of its citizens, has ended the lives of men who have not killed others. . . ."

"Ex-Chief Justice Centlivres was among those experts who, when the legislation making these executions possible was introduced, pointed out that an armed robber could henceforth reason that he might just as well eliminate all witnesses of his crime: his penalty could be no greater.

"Now, in the week of the first cases of this new type of execution, the Commissioner of Police has provided figures which show that increased whippings have failed to check the growth of serious crime. . . . Perhaps the time has come for the public to ask its legislators whether the right way to solve a problem is to insist on more and more of the wrong remedy."

Two former policemen stationed at Kliptown, Ludwig Scholtz and George Kriel, were convicted at the Rand Criminal Sessions of having raped an African woman and her fourteen-year-old daughter. Kriel, who had committed the offence against the child, was sentenced to six years and six strokes, and Scholtz to four years and four strokes. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 25, 1959.)

The *Sunday Times* wrote: "It makes us uneasy to think that there are in the police force men repeatedly convicted of crime. Yet a case raised in Parliament . . . leaves no doubt about the situation. A policeman, aged 18, was found guilty in the magistrate's court at Roodepoort of driving a car without the owner's permission. [He] admitted previous convictions for housebreaking and theft before he joined the police force and for stealing a typewriter . . . when he was still at school. When Mr. Swart, as Minister of Justice, was asked whether the constable would be dismissed, he said no [and] pointed to the Children's Act which lays down that previous convictions do not necessarily debar a juvenile . . . from employment in the public service. This is a reply that only Mr. Swart could nerve himself to offer. He knows full well that the police are no ordinary branch of the public service. To keep in the force a man convicted four times by the age of 18 is to trifle with the public interest. . . ." (February 15, 1959.)

As a result of strong criticism, the Minister of Justice amended a clause in the new Prisons Bill which sought to prevent the publication of information about prisoners, prisons or prison administration. Opposition M.P.s, however, felt that the clause as amended was still "too wide" in interpretation.

The *Pretoria News* commented: "The clause itself is misconceived and the Minister clings to certain ideas which may have undesirable consequences. . . . He wishes to protect the prisoner and the prisoner's family from sensational and often distasteful reporting. The prisoner, he says, is in the care of the State and . . . entitled to the State's protection. But he is . . . also in the power of the State and is almost defenceless against abuse and maltreatment, should these occur. The only safeguard against the petty tyrannies to which prison life lends itself is publicity and the force of public opinion. . . . Every branch of the public administration is and must be subject to public scrutiny. . . ."

During the debate on the Bill a Nationalist speaker said that Parliament should not leave it to the Executive Committee of South-West Africa to decide whether the Act, when passed, should apply to the Territory. S.W.A. was an integral part of the Union and the Union Government was the sovereign power. (*Pretoria News*, March 3, 1959.)

Commenting on the appointment as Chief Justice of Mr. Justice Steyn, the *Sunday Times* wrote: "In making [this] appointment . . . Mr. Swart once again has the insolence to go over the heads of the two senior Appeal Court Judges, Mr. Justice Schreiner and Mr. Justice Hoexter. Perhaps one ought not to be surprised at what Mr. Swart does. He has consistently shown that he is prepared to monkey around with the judiciary, paying little regard to claims of seniority and experience, and giving priority to men of lesser eminence. . . . It is time the Bar, the Side Bar and the Opposition made their views known to him." (February 8, 1959.)

Political "Apartheid": Abolition of Native Representation

Commenting on the Government's intention to abolish Native representation, *South Africa* wrote: "Native representation has been the subject of two separate and distinct pledges by Nationalist Prime Ministers. General Hertzog in 1936 introduced this indirect representation of the Natives as a *quid pro quo* for the abolition of the old Cape Native franchise, and as such it was accepted without qualification or exception by the Nationalists of that day. In the same way, in 1950, when Mr. Havenga came to terms with Dr. Malan over the Coloured vote—the agreement from which so much bitterness was to flow—the then Prime Minister undertook that there would be no interference with the African representation. Mr.

Havenga took his stand on the principle that once rights had been conceded it was wrong to take them away. How he managed to reconcile this stand on African representation with his surrender on the Coloured vote need not be discussed; but there is no question that Dr. Malan's promise to leave the African representation alone made it easier for Mr. Havenga, faithful always to General Hertzog's memory, to consent so reluctantly to the change in the Coloured vote. So long as he was in office Dr. Malan, of course, kept his promise; but Dr. Verwoerd and his colleagues are once more showing that no Government can bind its successors.

"This Native representation may not amount to very much—it means no more than three elected Europeans in the House of Assembly and four elected Europeans in the Senate—and it may also be illogical for the reason that only the Natives of the Cape are represented in the House of Assembly while the mass of the Native people elsewhere are allowed no voice whatever; but that might be held to be a powerful reason for extending the franchise, not for ending it. It is the withdrawal of this very limited franchise which must make the worst impression overseas. It is bad enough in these days to deny political representation; it is worse to take away rights already enjoyed. That is why this proposal to abolish the Native representation is a step backwards. In place of the franchise the Natives are to be offered, apparently, a shadowy approach to the Government through territorial and other councils, and a new school of ambassadors is to be created to serve as the link between the rural reserves and the urban locations. *Ex Africa semper aliquid novi*. It is surely a novelty to lose the franchise and be offered a diplomat. Such a liaison plan might be welcome and progressive if it were supplementary to Parliamentary representation. As a substitute it is derisory. . . ." (January 31, 1959.)

The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* reported that Mr. Japie Basson,¹ Nationalist M.P. for Namib, South West Africa, had warned the Government against proceeding with the Bill to abolish African representation. The warning was contained in a letter which described the proposed legislation as "a breach of faith". Basson said he had just returned from a tour of the United States—sponsored by the State Department under its leader-specialist scheme—and he believed that if the Government persisted with the legislation, South Africa's reputation abroad would decline even further.

Two or three Nationalist Parliamentarians supported his point of view, but the caucus decided to proceed with the measure. (January 25, 1959.)

Bantustans

The Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, announced in Parliament that he intended to follow the main trend in Africa today and to place the Bantu on the path of self-government in their own States. The present system of Bantu representation in the Union Parliament was being abolished to make way for a new approach to Bantu self-government. It must be realized, by the Bantu as well as the outside world, that a new era had begun in South Africa.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, announced that he would soon have a Bill ready to provide for the further political development of the Union's Bantu. The first step, Mr. Nel said, would be the creation of territorial units for the main Bantu groups of South Africa. In these units Bantu Authorities would be developed. Specially appointed "Commissioners-General" would serve as a liaison between the Government and the Bantu, and would assist the Bantu to achieve self-government. Initially there would be five Bantu territories and they would gradually be given more and more powers to govern themselves. The Government was also going to provide Ambassadors between the Bantu Authorities in the territories and Bantu living in White areas.

Mr. C. W. Prinsloo, of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, said that 317 Community Authorities had already been established. The grand total would be between 450 and 500. The setting up of Bantu Authorities had been virtually completed in the Transkei and Ciskei. Great progress had also been made in the Northern Transvaal, the North-Western Cape and the Free State. (*South Africa*, February 14, 1959.)

Commenting on the Parliamentary debates on these subjects, the *Rand Digest* V, 6.

Daily Mail concluded: "It is the Government and not the Opposition that has sought to adapt its thinking to the post-Accra situation in Africa. . . .

"All the indications are that the United Party has been caught badly off balance by this development. In moving the traditional motion of no confidence in the Government three weeks ago, the Leader of the Opposition approached the central issue of Colour policy in a most cautious and tentative manner. The United Party, he said, stood by the 1936 settlement 'although—and this is most important—we are prepared to concede that after some twenty years of operation of the present system it should be examined by a joint select committee of both parties'. There is little sign in this statement of recognition that events are moving fast in Africa. . . ."

However, it had made some effective criticisms of the Bantustan proposals, among them the following:

"Political separation is wholly inconsistent with continued economic integration. Building up independent Black states while relying on their labour is to expose the Union to paralysing sanctions in the withdrawal of this labour at any time. Industrial disputes will turn automatically into international disputes where capital and management belong to White South Africa and the labour belongs to one or other of the Bantustans. Even with the establishment of the Bantustans, there will always remain in the White areas of South Africa more Africans than Europeans. This majority will not be any more content to be denied political rights in the areas where it is permanently housed and employed than is the present African population.

"No provision exists for separate states for the Coloureds and Indians. Thus, even discounting for the moment the Africans, South Africa of the future will still have to reckon with other large Non-White race groups." (February 18, 1959.)

Golden City Post, commenting on the proposed Bantustans, said that "far from being a co-ordinated whole", they were scattered. "Only 13 per cent of the Union's surface area has been set aside for Bantu areas; and it would be absurd to suggest that these areas are among the richest in the country in raw material or agriculturally. You don't get modern industrial cities just for the asking. You need rich gold, coal or other mineral deposits, the millions of pounds to develop them, and the skilled techniques to exploit them. What guarantee is there that these Bantustan towns won't end as glorified location slums? . . ."

"Unless these Bantustan states are economically self-supporting, the men in them will have to come into the White cities to look for work. This means the continuation of Migratory Labour on an even larger scale than at present with consequent break-up of family life. . . ."

"The Prime Minister promised in Parliament that 'European control in the Bantu territories [would] eventually have to disappear'. But the first step towards political independence in the Bantustans is nullified by the proposal that the so-called 'Native Parliament' will consist of chiefs and councillors who have already been appointed by the Government to smaller Bantu bodies. What this means is that the Bantustans will be run by chiefs virtually appointed by Pretoria—instead of by freely-elected leaders. . . ." (February 8, 1959.)

In an interview with *New Age*, Chief A. J. Luthuli, president-general of the A.N.C., said: ". . . Attempts are being made to equate the noble aim of freedom, democracy and self-government in Africa with the system of Bantu Authorities which is completely unacceptable even as a system of local government. . . . For ourselves we can say that the plans of the present Government reveal a policy that is completely devoid of any creative impulse; a policy based on constantly looking backward at the past."

Reiterating Congress policy on adult suffrage, Chief Luthuli said he wished to make the position clear beyond any doubt. "The African National Congress believes that the whole of South Africa belongs to all the people. We emphatically reject the thesis whereby South Africa is sought to be divided into 'areas of liberty' for different national groups. South Africa belongs to all who have sacrificed labour and life itself to build it. The South Africa of today is the result of the common effort by all its peoples. . . ."

"The time has come for all freedom-loving people in our country to accept the challenge of our times; to help build a truly democratic movement capable of ousting the Nationalists from power before they plunge

the country into disaster with their fantastic schemes." (February 12, 1959.)

South Africa quoted the *Rand Daily Mail* as saying that most of the Bapedi tribe were still not prepared to accept the Bantu Authorities Act even though their banished chief had been "returned to them on permit". Sixteen sub-chiefs and headmen had openly voiced their support of the Government, but Paramount Chief Morwamoche and his followers were still adamant that the Act should not be imposed upon them. This decision was taken in spite of a suggestion made to them at a big *indaba* (formal assembly) by senior Government officials that if the Chief accepted the Act his temporary permit would be torn up and he would not need to fear deportation again. (February 7, 1959.)

Economic "Apartheid"

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. de Wet Nel, moved a Bill providing for the establishment of a Bantu Investment Corporation with initial capital of £500,000; one of its main purposes would be to encourage and protect the economic development of the Africans in the Bantustans. It was not the object that large organizations should be established, but smaller ones which could readily be controlled by the Africans themselves.

For the United Party, Mr. S. F. Waterson moved that the Bill be referred to a select committee. All were agreed that the Reserves should be developed, he said, but in terms of the Bill everything would be left to the Corporation, which would be completely in the hands of one man, namely, the Minister, who was aiming at a "Black" economy separate from the existing one. The development of the reserves should be in the hands of private enterprise.

Mrs. Margaret Ballinger ascertained from the Minister that the Directors of the Corporation would be European, and said that in the Native Affairs Department there was an increasing number of officials "living on the backs of the Africans". The Government was starting at the wrong end: instead of providing the people with the elementary education they needed to enable them to run the Corporation themselves the Government began by establishing "these big jobs for more pals". She had no doubt that the Government intended the Africans to finance the Corporation, but she could not see how this could be done when, through job reservation, stringent control of urban areas and similar legislation the Government had steadily limited the capacity of the Africans to earn in the European areas. (*Pretoria News*, February 5, 1959.)

The *Pretoria News* commented: "It is strange that a Government which has had no hesitation over the years in appropriating some £50 millions, chiefly from taxation surpluses, to make oil from coal can make a direct contribution of only £500,000 towards a project which is to save White civilization." (February 20, 1959.)

The *Sunday Express* said that in practice the Bill meant "chicken-feed" and in politics "pure chicanery": "How much could a Bantu Development Corporation do with £500,000 to develop commerce and light industry in Native areas? We can cite an instance of a small factory using mass-production methods that was set up in a Native area some time ago. It employs forty Europeans and 190 [Africans]. It cost £500,000. . . . The Government has always shuddered at reminders that the Tomlinson Commission put the cost of practical *apartheid* at £104 millions. Many realists consider the true cost to the economy of a country where economic integration has willy-nilly become a reality would be a far higher figure even in an experimental period, let alone in the remote future. . . . Among tinier populations than those of our Native Reserves, such as the Bechuanas and the Swazis, a sum of more than £12 millions is being spent on building up business and industrial activities alone." (February 8, 1959.)

Other Forms of "Apartheid"

Group Areas¹

In a letter to *Die Kerkbode*, official organ of the Dutch Reformed Church, Professor Ben Marais of Pretoria University described the Group Areas Board's proposals for Pretoria's Indian community as "un-

christian" and "completely unacceptable". He said the majority of members of his church did not understand what really was involved for the Indians and how deeply the proposals affected them in their whole existence and all they owned. He added: "I have sufficient faith in our Dutch Reformed Church to believe that we will not sit quietly while injustice is being done."

Die Kerkbode commented in a footnote that it would be a dangerous principle for a church to investigate a local situation which lay outside its work and to approve or veto the arrangements of local authorities. (*Star*, January 26, 1959.)

Professor P. V. Pistorius, also of Pretoria University, said that it was reassuring that "a middle-of-the-road conservative" like Professor Marais should have raised his voice against the injustice of the Act, and that there were thousands who felt as he did about its present and future effects on the Indian community. He added that *Die Kerkbode's* comment had followed a well-known pattern: "It seems to be accepted in certain circles that the Government must not be embarrassed. This has been the attitude of the D.R.C. to representations made on the effects of the Act. It may one day dawn on *Die Kerkbode* that this policy of non-embarrassment can have the opposite effect. When a church journal closes its eyes in so flagrant a manner to injustice it could have the effect of making more people aware of it." In reply to the journal's claim that the whole thing was merely a local matter, he said that in Pretoria alone 5,000 Indians would be deprived of their livelihood and that on a nation-wide scale the effect would be far greater. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 29, 1959.)

As the Claudius area, to which the first group from Pretoria were to be moved by June 5, will not be ready to accommodate them then, the Pretoria City Council has applied to the Minister for a postponement. Describing the Council's decision as "obviously a wise and humane one", the *Pretoria News* said: "The matter does not, of course, end there . . . the problem of Indian trading rights remains unsolved and, so far as the Council is concerned, apparently unregarded. . . . The purpose of the Group Areas Act was to ensure that people of different races lived in different residential neighbourhoods. In its application it has gone far beyond this. It is being used as an instrument to remove the Europeans' commercial competitors." (March 2, 1959.)

Fifteen hundred Transvaal Indians met at an all-day conference in Johannesburg "to consider the next phase of their nine-year struggle against the Act". The meeting "noted with deep gratitude the noble stand of outstanding men and women of all races, church bodies, religious leaders and democratic organizations in defence of right and justice", and resolved to keep up "uncompromising opposition" to the Act. Among those who addressed the meeting were the Hon. Richard Feetham, a former Judge of Appeal, and Mr. Alan Paton. (*Star*, March 2, 1959.)

Plans to have a special area proclaimed near Claudius for Pretoria's Chinese community have been put to the City Council. A leading member of this community, Mr. C. P. Law, had said that they were such a small group (about 650 persons) that they could not exist as a separate community, to deprive them of their trading rights in the European areas would mean their ruin. (*Pretoria News*, February 25, 1959.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* wrote: "A group of fifty poverty-stricken Coloureds—including babies—in Upper Valley Road, Port Elizabeth, are threatened with losing their homes from April 4 (under a Group Areas proclamation). . . . Eleven of the tenants appeared in the . . . Magistrate's Court (in January) charged with failing to comply with an order to move by August 8 last. . . . They were fined £25 (or two months) suspended for twelve months on condition they did not commit any offence under the . . . Act during that time and that they had left their houses by April 4. For every day they remain after that date . . . they will be liable for fines of £1 (or seven days)." (February 3, 1959.)

The chairman of the Vlaktefontein Advisory Board, Mr. T. R. Mashabela, said that the "back-to-front" application of the Act was causing hardship for many Africans, who were being forced to move from the slum area of Eastwood to "site-and-service" plots at Vlaktefontein. Since there were no houses available for them, they had to build "rough shelters" for themselves.

Asked whether houses could not be built in advance, the manager of the municipal Non-European Affairs Department said that the present

¹DIGEST V, 2-5; VI, 1-4.

system was the policy of the Government and that the Council was bound by it. (*Pretoria News*, March 4, 1959.)

At a packed meeting in Simonstown, men and women of all races decided unanimously that they did not want the Group Areas Act applied there "in any shape or form". (*Pretoria News*, February 3, 1959.)

The Durban correspondent of *The Times* wrote: "Mounting opposition to the decision to put the group areas legislation into effect by removing more than 70,000 Asians from areas in the Durban suburbs which they have occupied for generations and proclaiming the areas reserved for European occupation has led to the formation of a committee of prominent citizens pledged to resist this." Signatories to a protest drawn up by the committee included university professors, religious leaders, social workers and other prominent professional and business people. (February 17, 1959.)

Over 2,000 people attended a protest meeting organized by the committee. They endorsed "by an overwhelming majority" a resolution that "this meeting of the citizens of Durban regards the ultimate removal of Indians from Cato Manor as morally indefensible, imposing an intolerable financial burden beyond the resources of the city, and calls on the City Council to do everything possible to prevent this grave injustice". The chairman of the committee, Archbishop Dennis Hurley, told the meeting that it was "a dangerous thing to play with justice, to tamper with human rights, and to make those human rights the prerogative of a White skin".

Mrs. M. B. Lavoipierre, a prominent social worker, said that in Cato Manor there were ten State-aided Indian schools and other institutions which had been built up by the enterprise and thrift of the Indian community without the expenditure of taxpayers' money. She asked, "What moral right have we to say [this area] is now wanted for Europeans?"

Social and Cultural

King Kong, an all-African jazz opera, book by Harry Bloom, lyrics by Pat Williams, music by Todd Matshikiza, and produced by Leon Gluckman, played to full houses in the University Great Hall throughout its Johannesburg run. It could not be performed in Pretoria, the capital, because the City Council refused to rent either the City Hall or the Show Grounds Hall to an All-Native cast.

The Johannesburg run was curtailed because it could not be produced in a commercial theatre, and the University Great Hall, where interracial audiences are allowed, was only available for a limited season. The show raised many thousands of pounds for two causes: the Union of South African Artists, whose object it is to do all it can to advance Non-White art of all kinds, and the African Medical Scholarship Trust Fund.

Recordings from the opera are being distributed among South African Information Services overseas, as an example of South African achievement in art.

Cape Municipal Vote¹

A deputation led by the former Chief Justice, the Hon. A. van de Sandt Centlivres, told the Administrator of the Cape, Dr. J. H. O. du Plessis, that no case had been made out by anyone for depriving the Cape Coloured municipal voters of their existing civic rights. Assuming that the implementation of the Group Areas Act was practical, there was nothing inconsistent with such implementation in maintaining the full civic rights of Coloured ratepayers. In any event, until that Act was put into effect, it would be premature at this stage to deprive any section of municipal ratepayers of its right to have a say in the conduct of municipal affairs.

In a memorandum the deputation said that to disfranchise the Coloured voters would mean depriving Coloured ratepayers of all effective voice in the expenditure of municipal funds. It would place the administration of civic affairs in the complete control of Europeans. (*South Africa*, January 24, 1959.)

The *Star* said that at a packed meeting at the City Hall, Cape Town, municipal voters had unanimously supported motions put forward by Mr. Centlivres that the Government should not interfere in city affairs and should not change the Non-White municipal franchise. (January 28, 1959.)

Labour and Wages

There has been strong opposition to the Industrial Conciliation (Amendment) Bill, which has already passed the committee stage. The

¹DIGEST VI, 4.

Bill tightens up the provisions for imposing job reservation on a racial basis.

During an interview between the Minister of Labour, Senator Jan de Klerk, and a deputation from the Federated Chamber of Industries, the Association of Chambers of Commerce and the Confederation of Employer Organizations, Senator de Klerk said that "sociological questions" must take precedence over economic considerations, and a deadlock ensued.

The Chamber of Industries later passed a resolution "expressing anxiety and concern over the impact which present Government policies in respect of job reservation, perimeter and Bantu Area development [would] have on the future industrialization of South Africa". The South African Trade Union Council (claiming the largest membership of workers) conveyed to the Government its misgivings with regard to job reservation.

The South African Institute of Race Relations said the Bill would result in racial competition and undercutting; force the industrial economy into an irrational pattern; undermine the security of Coloureds, Indians and Africans; place further obstacles in the way of African trade unionists; and would deprive members of all races of some of the few civil liberties they still enjoyed. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 9, 1959.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* cited Dr. P. R. Rautenbach of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development as saying that about 76 per cent of the country's total labour force was concentrated in the four major metropolitan areas where over 60 per cent of the Union's industries were established. The *Mail* said that the Government's plan was to throw an "industrial barrier" round the reserves to act as a "sponge" to absorb most of the migrant labour before it reached these urban centres. (March 3, 1959.)

The gold-mining industry's African labour force rose in January by the record number of 21,422 to 350,656. Reflecting this increase in the labour force the industry produced 1,546,185 ounces of gold—"its second highest figure ever"—worth £19,282,215. (*Star*, February 10, 1959.)

A strike of about 1,000 African stevedores who had refused to work at the Durban docks at their present rates of pay was ended when the men were dismissed. More than half the strikers sought re-employment. A significant outcome of the strike was a decision, taken at an emergency meeting of the stevedoring companies, to abolish the system of daily-paid workers. All the Africans who were engaged or re-engaged were taken on on a weekly-paid basis. It was also reported that the companies would discuss a scheme to form a labour pool whereby they could "borrow" additional labour from each other. (*Pretoria News*, February 26, 1959.)

A recommendation for a "substantial increase" in the minimum basic pay for unskilled labour in Pretoria was reported by the *News* (February 20, 1959). This was made by the Wage Board to the Minister of Labour and was for an increase from £1 6s. a week to £2 0s. 6d., the cost-of-living allowance to be raised from 13s. 9d. to £1 0s. 9d. The Johannesburg rates for unskilled labour in a long list of specified trades included: daily employee, 7s. 9d. a day; night watchman, £2 7s. 6d. a week; women (not daily workers), £1 14s. a week; men (not daily workers), £2 2s. 6d. a week. In other areas the rates were lower.

The *News* commented: "It appears that even if these minimum wage recommendations are an advance on those framed thirteen years ago and still in existence, they lag very far behind the times. . . . Under the definition of 'unskilled labour' is a class of Native employed as an office helper and messenger. It is very doubtful that any commercial or industrial concern pays Natives on anything like the low scale now recommended as a minimum."

The Pretoria City Council decided to support the new wage determination, but it also appointed a subcommittee to "investigate Native labour in the municipality" to try to find ways of economizing. The most obvious economy measure would be to reduce the size of the labour force. (*Pretoria News*, February 28, 1959.)

Race Relations News said that the implications of the new Native Labour Regulations were much graver than had been realized. They applied to the Union as a whole, and not merely to Johannesburg. Depots might have to be set up for African women seeking employment, since no one could now employ any African not registered with the local employment officer in an urban or prescribed area. The full range of influx control

measures had in fact now been applied to African women. (February, 1959.)

Education

The *Times Educational Supplement* reported that when the new school year began thousands of Coloured children were turned away owing to lack of space in Cape Peninsula schools. Classes of forty-five to fifty pupils were common and many of the schools were operating on double shifts, with classes running up to 100 and more. Principals who were forced to refuse admission to new applicants reported that some of them were over 10 years old and had never had an opportunity to attend school. Attendance was not compulsory for Coloured children on the same basis as for European children. The Administrator was empowered to enforce it in certain areas; so far, he had done so in six areas only, but the intention was to extend the principle of compulsion gradually "as the present mission schools (serving 80 per cent of the Coloured population) were taken over by the State and a sufficient number of schools and teachers became available".

A complicating factor in European schools in the Cape was the race classification test. Many children were denied admission to White schools on colour grounds. This was "one of the perennial tragedies of South African life, [being] repeated at the opening of every school term, more particularly in the Cape Province." (January 30, 1959.)

Possession of White identity cards by both parents is not necessarily accepted as proof that a child is of "100 per cent White extraction". One thirteen-year-old boy had been called out from his class to the headmaster's study, where his eyes, skin and hair were examined, after which he and his parents were told: "There are signs of Coloured blood. Please leave the school." (*Peace News*, March 6, 1959.) The *Star* had reported one school principal as saying that he had "turned away more than twenty 'suspects' already this year".

The Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr. F. H. Odendaal, told the Provincial Council that in future immigrant teachers would not get permanent appointments in the Transvaal unless they were specialist teachers "found suitable for such appointments". The ordinary teacher in South Africa was "better than the imported teacher because of his background". He was not prepared to accept immigrant teachers who had "philosophies foreign to general concepts in South Africa". Any scarcity of teachers in English-medium schools would be met from among Afrikaans-speaking teachers, who already comprised 30 per cent of the staff of English-medium schools. (*The Times*, February 28, 1959.)

The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* reported that the Government was "planning to make the [African] people Afrikaans-speaking". It quoted Mr. C. W. Prinsloo, Chief Information Officer of the Bantu Administration and Development Department, as saying: "We inherited from the previous mission-school régime thousands of teachers who knew no Afrikaans. They taught mostly in English. It is Government policy that Native teachers in future will be trilingual—and Afrikaans is one of the languages they must know." (January 18, 1959.)

The Archbishop of Pretoria, the Most Rev. J. C. Garner, is visiting the United States to collect funds for the Roman Catholic mission schools no longer receiving State aid. (*Pretoria News*, February 10, 1959.)

Sport

A proposed tour of South Africa by a three-man Australian table tennis team was called off by the South African Table Tennis Union because the Union could not comply with conditions laid down for the tour by the South African Table Tennis Board, the Non-European body controlling the sport in South Africa. Among the conditions which were "unacceptable" to the European body were that there should be no racial discrimination at any of the matches, not even in seating arrangements, and that the Australians should play a Non-European Board team. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, January 30, 1959.)

A statement condemning the forthcoming overseas tours by South African hockey and netball teams was issued by the president of the South African Sports Association, Mr. G. K. Rangamy, because they would be conducted on the basis of racial discrimination, and were a "betrayal of the principles of international sport . . .".

S.A.S.A. also called on Frank Worrell to reconsider his plans to lead a private West Indian cricket tour of the Union towards the end of the year on the ground that it would do "grave harm to the fight of all Non-White South African sportsmen to have the principles of true sportsmanship upheld in South Africa". (*Pretoria News*, February 13 and January 30, 1959.)

The *Star* reported that the Africa Bureau pamphlet, "Sport, the Arts and the Colour Bar in South Africa", was among twelve publications recently banned in the Union. The list included *Photo Art*, *Popular Medicine* and "various Communist-published books". (January 30, 1959.)

Church Clause¹

The Anglican and Roman Catholic churches in Welkom, Orange Free State, decided to ignore a decision by the Village Board of Management to ask the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to ban church services for Non-Europeans in the town. The effect of the ban would be to force Non-Europeans to travel several miles to the African location at Thabong instead of attending special services held for them in Welkom. (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 3, 1959.)

Britain and the Union

Speaking at a South African Club dinner, Dr. A. J. R. van Rhiip, the new South African High Commissioner in London, said that British investments had formed part of South Africa's "phenomenal economic development" in the past two decades. The United Kingdom was by far her most important overseas investor, and the Union offered British investors and manufacturers "the prospect of good profits, low taxation, a long record of industrial peace and political and economic stability and, above all, security from expropriation".

Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said that sometimes the "solid and substantial links" between South Africa and the United Kingdom were "not sufficiently understood". They were two countries on the same side in the essential task of securing the safety and the liberty of the free peoples of the world. Each possessed a geographical key position in ensuring the freedom of the seas. (*The Times*, February 10, 1959.)

Congress Movement

The A.N.C. said in a statement that its executive, meeting with the executives of four other bodies, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the Coloured Peoples Organization, and the Congress of Trade Unions, had decided to celebrate "Africa Day" on April 15 to mark their solidarity with the rest of Africa. The Conference, approved the resolution of the Accra Pan-African Conference on the launching of a boycott of South African goods. An economic boycott committee had been appointed and given the task of launching an educational campaign on the effective use of economic boycott as a method of struggle and of making preparations for the naming of commodities and institutions to be boycotted from a specific date. Action would also be taken against passes, and the Conference decided to "intensify the agitation for an all-round increase in wages and for a minimum wage of £1 a day". (*Pretoria News*, February 24, 1959.)

A conference of nine branches of the A.N.C. held at Langa location in Cape Town decided to dissolve the co-ordinating committee and set up a caretaker committee with a new temporary name, "The National Africanists' Congress", pending a convention planned by Africans to be held in Queenstown in April. The conference had criticized the A.N.C. president, Chief Luthuli, on his leadership and for having allowed members of the Liberal Party and of the Congress of Democrats to be active in the A.N.C. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 10, 1959.)

Contact said that when the Africanist² leader, Josias Madzunya, addressed a crowded meeting at the Bantu Social Centre in Durban his extreme views met with little support. After singing "a praise song" for Chief Luthuli, all but fifty of the 200 Africans present had left the hall. (February 21, 1959.)

Fourteen members of the A.N.C., bearing placards condemning the Federal Government's action in Nyasaland, demonstrated on the Johan-

¹DIGEST IV, 5-V, 5, VI, 2-3.

²DIGEST VI, 3.

nesburg City Hall steps. Senior police officers and Special Branch men gathered in and around the hall, but the demonstrators remained quiet.

The head of the Special Branch said that there had been a swoop on local offices of the Nyasaland, Southern and Northern Rhodesian A.N.C.'s. Documents were seized. He stated that offices of the South African A.N.C. had not been raided, but the A.N.C. secretary, Mr. James Hadebe, declared that documents had been seized in a raid on the home of Mr. George Nkomo, treasurer of the Dube branch of the A.N.C. (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 6, 1959.)

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Pastor Ejected from Hoananas

THE Chief of Police accompanied by a force of policemen ejected the Rev. Markus Kooper from the Hoananas Reserve. The Administration obtained the ejection order against Pastor Kooper last year. The *Windhoek Advertiser* (February 3, 1959) commented that the Administration had taken action after complaints from White farmers in the district and that other ejection orders would have to be implemented in order to clear the area. "Before the next ejection order is obtained, it would be proper if another attempt is made to settle the dispute peacefully."

A correspondent describing the incident said that thirty policemen were armed with guns, khieries, bayonets and a machine-gun and they forcibly removed Pastor Kooper. Several people were injured.

Africans Sent Home from Union

Mr. Toivo Ja-Toivo and Mr. J. Kozunguizi were ordered to leave South Africa. Mr. Kozunguizi said: "We cannot hide our declaration of war against oppression, exploitation and any form of humiliation and White *baasskap*. The struggle for liberation in South West Africa has so far been centred around the United Nations and politics have always been on a tribal basis. Our resolution is to work for the national unity of the various tribes in South West Africa and concentrate on the organization of the people at home into a strong political force. This is no easy job, but we are confident that with determination and inspiration from the All-African People's Conference we shall surge forward to ultimate liberation."

Mr. Toivo, who had sent a tape-recorded message to the United Nations on behalf of Ovamboland Africans, was arrested at Tsumeb on his return and sentenced to twenty days' imprisonment or a fine of £2 for being in a mine compound without permission. He was later sent under escort to Ovamboland and told by the Native Commissioner that he would not be allowed to leave the area again. (*New Age*, January 8 and 29, 1959.)

U.N. Committee

Guatemala, Ireland and the Philippines were elected by the General Assembly to replace Mexico, Pakistan and the United States on the U.N. Committee for South West Africa. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, January 26, 1959.)

Increase in Crime

According to Windhoek Magistrate's report the reasons for crime increase in the capital of South West Africa are the increase in population and the influx of undesirable characters from the Union.

The Windhoek Magisterial District is 10,297 square miles.

Population estimates for Windhoek are:

	1958	1951 (official census)
Europeans	20,494	11,363
Coloured	2,632	1,383
African	26,268	16,971
Crime figures included:	1958	1957
Theft	708	242
Housebreaking	108	57
Liquor cases	2,407	1,565

(*Windhoek Advertiser*, January 16, 1959.)

African Housing

Karasburg is the only town in South West Africa where a new Native Township scheme has progressed so far that houses are actually occupied. Already more than £20,000 has been spent and another loan of £3,000 was taken up; the Town Council intends to take up a further £6,000 loan. Plans for the location include rugby and netball fields and tennis courts. The streets are being laid out and in the near future street lighting will be provided. New public conveniences have been erected throughout the location. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, February 5, 1959.)

Race Relations

A "Windhoek Resident" wrote to the *Windhoek Advertiser* (January 6, 1959): "The only relationship that exists between White and Non-White today in South West Africa is that of master and servant. Today we have many educated and civilized Non-White men and women in the Windhoek Native Township, but we don't want to know them, for it is a painful experience. In fact, we cannot offer them any jobs for which they are qualified, for the very thought of them doing a 'White man's job' with the same efficiency and ability evokes nausea in us."

HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

Sir John Maud Takes Over

SIR JOHN MAUD, the new High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in South Africa, and for the High Commission Territories, has been sworn in in Cape Town. Soon after, he paid short visits to Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, to get to know officials and leading citizens.

Education

In reply to questions from Mr. James Johnson, M.P., in the House of Commons, Mr. C. Alport, Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, gave the following figures: "At Roma College (in Basutoland), there are twenty-two students from Basutoland, seven from Bechuanaland and six from Swaziland." Within the Union of South Africa, nine students from Basutoland, three from the Bechuanaland Protectorate and two from Swaziland are receiving university education. There is none at Makerere College in Uganda.

Basutoland

The New Constitution¹

The Legislative Council

Details of the powers of the Basutoland National Council were given in a White Paper² published on January 21, 1959.

The *Times* paid tribute to both parties to the agreement and commented: "A tradition of handling public business by discussion is rooted in Basuto history far deeper than the comparatively recent British rule. The Paramount Chieftainship, which has always been the apex of Basuto society, will continue to exercise its authority on the lines of a constitutional monarchy. But the new constitution will not be worth the paper it is written on unless the outstanding economic and social issues are vigorously tackled. The most has to be made of the natural resources of a little mountainous land sadly ravaged in the past by the evil effects of bad cultivation and sorely in need of fresh resources." (January 22, 1959.)

Basuto Parties Prepare for Elections

Three parties are electioneering in Basutoland: the Congress Party, under the leadership of Ntsu C. Mokhehe; *Marematlou* (the Elephant Choppers, so called because of the proverb "Unity chops elephants"), under

¹DIGEST VI, 4.

²Cmd. 637, price 1s.

the leadership of S. S. Matete: and the National Party, under the leadership of Chief Leabua Jonathan. The elections are for forty seats out of the eighty that will be established in the new Basutoland National Council. The Congress manifesto seeks the attainment of a responsible form of government under the protection of Britain. The educational policy provides for striving for "free, compulsory education up to the Junior Certificate level or the age of 18" and to press for "bursaries out of national funds to enable carefully selected students to train in the various branches of technology". The manifesto calls for a geological survey to try to find minerals, and for the nationalization of the present diamond industry. It calls for the encouragement of local small industries, as well as for large hydro-electric projects. It desires "to introduce co-operative movements and trade unions, to lay down a minimum wage for all classes of employees . . . to make provision for the care and maintenance of the aged, the indigent, and the infirm . . . to establish health centres . . . cultural centres . . . sanitation and the laying out of pure water for all villages . . . village and town councils".

A most important provision is that the Party favours Government-controlled recruitment for the mines, instead of, as at present, recruitment by the N.R.C., an organ of the Chamber of Mines. There is an enlightened agricultural policy, which does not introduce any revolutionary changes in land tenure. The policy on chieftainship is: "It shall be the Party's policy to strive for the maintenance and enhancement of the position, status, and dignity of the Paramount Chief as the sole ruler of Basutoland. . . ." For many years the people have complained that there are too many chiefs. The manifesto "recognizes . . . freedom of worship" and will "work for keeping religion out of the political arena" and pledges the Party to make contacts with the outside world in order to raise development funds, and specifically from the United Nations agencies. (*Contact*, March 7, 1959.)

Ox-Bow Power Developments

In explaining the plans for cheap water and electricity from Basutoland to the Welkom (O.F.S.) Chamber of Commerce, Mr. R. H. Burns, president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa, said the solution to the Union's problem of providing water to the Free State goldfields "is on our very doorstep in Basutoland—the 'sponge' of South Africa where the mountainous terrain provides an abundant rainfall". The proposed Ox-Bow lake scheme, involving the construction of a dam 8,500 ft. above sea level with a diversion through the Malutis to the Hololo River in the Caledon Valley, would make possible the delivery of abundant supplies of water. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 4, 1959.)

Mr. O. Tamsen, staff correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* (January 28) reported that the Administrator of the Free State, Mr. J. J. Fouche, had visited the Ox-Bow Lake district and that "in unofficial discussions with senior Government officials it was suggested that a £16 millions scheme could be developed to bring prosperity to the Union's 'dustbowls'".

"So impressed was the Administrator with the potential of the Ox-Bow area that he immediately asked Cabinet Ministers in Pretoria to pursue the matter. It is understood, however, that they have pigeon-holed the scheme until the full implications of independence can be studied. Drawing-board proposals indicate that at least 40 million gallons of water could be piped by gravitation across the Basutoland borders into the Union each day. A hydro-electric station in one of the Ox-Bow mountain passes could provide sufficient electric power to 'light up' at least two provinces. Consulting engineers called in for their advice on the project claim that Basutoland could in this way provide the Union with new industrial and agricultural life-blood."

"Liretlo" Murders

Mohlabani (December, 1958), the organ of the Basutoland African Congress, published an article referring to the "cruel murders known as Liretlo that have been perpetrated in this country". It said: "There are those who aver positively that these murders do in fact exist and are committed by the chiefs with a view to promoting their welfare and increasing their political and administrative status. On the other hand, there is a very large section of the people that has a contrary view. This section, by far the largest, does not deny the fact that people are killed and mutilated; what it does deny is that these people are killed by or on the instructions of the

chiefs; it believes that the murders are caused by some unknown person or persons who have certain motives for wanting to implicate the chiefs in these sinister acts. In support of its contention, this group quotes a number of instances where would-be accomplice witnesses have caused the arrest of innocent people by making false statements to the police, and also points out that before the persons so suspected of these murders were brought before the courts the supposed victims of these cruel murders have been found hale and hearty.

"In such an atmosphere of legal confusion we believe it will be very refreshing to know what an eminent Judge, Mr. Justice E. M. de Beer, now of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa, thought of these murders at the time he used to preside over Liretlo cases in the absence of the Judge for the High Commission Territories. We also believe that after hearing what he thought of them many people who were otherwise confused might be able to readjust their thinking in the light of his remarks." Judge de Beer's remarks were contained in Circular No. 239 of 1946, issued by the Basutoland Government to all District Officers:

"The impression I have formed during this Session is that there is an amount of perjury that is positively alarming. From the cases I have heard here it seems to be pretty general on both sides. I have worried about this matter considerably and in some cases I am reluctantly driven to the conclusion that because there is a question of possible compensation in the offing, certain Crown witnesses are not only prepared but apparently anxious and eager to lie about any point where they think such a lie will prejudice the accused. In other words, they seem to be quite prepared to sacrifice human life or human feelings for the sake of compensation. I have also noticed that witnesses testifying on behalf of an accused person have come into court and told a story which was obviously and palpably a fabrication from the beginning to the end. This disregard for the oath that people take in the witness box is a serious matter, and I recommend for the consideration of the police taking some case, in which I hope, on conviction, a real example will be made of these people committing perjury. If persons take an oath to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, that is an oath they have to abide by, and they must know that to disregard that oath is a serious matter which entails many serious consequences."

Mohlabani concluded "that this was the last time, as far as we are aware, that Mr. Justice de Beer presided over a Session of the Basutoland High Court, which is rather a pity, because he might have been able to follow up his suggestion and perhaps persuade the police to do something about this serious state of affairs".

Bechuanaland

Economic Progress

INDUSTRIAL development at Lobatsi and Francistown, the successful meat freezing plant at Lobatsi, and the flow of contacts along the improving road system from Bulawayo are attracting attention in the Central African Federation, according to a *Manchester Guardian* correspondent (February 4, 1959). Other developments to which he referred were the visit of Tshekedi Khama and Seretse Khama to Salisbury to negotiate for the mineral rights on their tribal lands. South Africa now saw a richer prize in the huge country than when it was thought of as nothing but desert. The Afrikaans trader was moving northwards into the territory, but the entrenched tribal system was an effective bulwark against Afrikaner penetration northwards into the farmlands of the Protectorate.

It was hoped that a new secondary school at Lobatsi might stop the flow of Bechuana youth to the Union (estimated that 40-50 per cent of able-bodied men away at any one time working in Union gold mines), but the fact remains that the greatest economic wealth of the Protectorate lies in the labour of its people outside its own borders.

The correspondent concluded: "The democratization of the Bamangwato chiefly rule, in which a tribal council is replacing the more autocratic rule of the chief, is being shrewdly watched among the Bakwena—the senior tribe of the Protectorate—and the Bangweketsi. If the experiment in the Bamangwato is successful it might pave the way for democratic

experiments elsewhere. The chiefs know that under British protection their position is more secure than under the Union or the Federation and their authority is still considerable and far-reaching in all tribal affairs which intimately affect the life of the people. A few of the younger educated men of the tribes are saying that Britain is bolstering up an outmoded feudalism, and some of them prefer life within the Union to a dictatorial existence within their own tribe at home."

WEST AFRICA Ghana

Second Development Plan

THE Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, speaking on the Second Five-Year Development Plan, told the National Assembly that the Government hoped to start 600 new industrial enterprises during the next five years. Prominent among these will be motor assembly plants, a large soap factory and flour and textile mills.

He continued: "Biscuits, nails, matches, cigarettes and other useful items are being produced locally. And even though we still import large quantities of these commodities, the thought that they are being manufactured in Ghana now must fill us with pride. . . .

"Also, preparations have been made in the Trans-Volta Togoland region for the establishment of a distillery and a sugar factory. In Accra, too, a promising tyre remoulding industry is making rapid headway."

Reviewing the work of the Industrial Development Corporation, Dr. Nkrumah said that the Corporation's principal objective was to bring to the limelight the innate talents of Ghanaian craftsmen. To achieve this, its initial investment went into a furniture and joinery industry. Later, it invested in a thriving local cigar-making industry whose activities included experiments in processing locally grown tobacco.

Steadily and with a firm hope in the future, the Corporation spread its activity over a wide field, assisting private business men and women.

Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance, said projects amounting to £342 millions would be implemented.

The Development Plan was approved after M.P.s from both sides of the House had demanded more developments for their constituencies. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, March 6, 1959.)

Constitutional Changes

The Regional Assemblies set up last October in Ashanti, Northern Ghana, Trans-Volta Togoland, Eastern and Western, are to be abolished under a Bill published as a supplement to the *Ghana Gazette*.

The Constitutional (Amendment) Bill, which is due to be presented to the National Assembly soon, will, when passed into law, amend parts of the Constitution to give the Prime Minister direct powers over the appointment of civil and judicial officials. It will also make the Government responsible for prosecutions for offences against the safety of the State instead of the Attorney-General.

Previously public officials were appointed by the Public Service Commission, while the Prime Minister had to consult the Chief Justice before appointing the Justices of Appeal. In future, a puisne judge will be appointed by the Governor-General acting on the advice of the Prime Minister, after consulting the Chief Justice. Justices of Appeal are to be appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister without consulting the Chief Justice. The appointment of magistrates (excluding local court magistrates) and other judicial officers is now to be made by the Governor-General acting on the advice of the Chief Justice, who must consult the Prime Minister before giving advice as to the appointment of magistrates, excluding local court magistrates and other judicial officers.

Moving the second reading of the Bill, Premier Nkrumah said the amendment was to bring the Constitution more in line with the independent status of Ghana and to remove a number of provisions inherited from colonial days. The Bill passed through its second reading without a division. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, February 23 and March 4, 1959.)

The Referendum Bill published on March 1 is believed to be the first step towards declaring Ghana a republic within the British Commonwealth. Government members have been saying recently that a referendum would be held on this question at the end of the year. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 2, 1959.)

Dr. Busia, Leader of the Ghana Parliamentary Opposition, said that the Opposition did not want bloodshed in the country. He warned, however, that reckless destoolment of chiefs, attacks on Civil Servants, arbitrary detention of Opposition Members and disrespect for the courts were the roots of disorder in the country which might result in the unpredictable. The object of the Opposition was to fight for the civil rights and liberties of the people which were being trampled upon by the C.P.P. Government. Some of the learned sons and daughters of the country were gagged by fears of physical harm; others had chosen to shun the company of Opposition Members for fear of losing their jobs. But the truth was that those who ran away from the truth and attempted to save their lives in a righteous struggle were bound eventually to lose the very lives they were saving.

Plot Inquiry

Captain Benjamin Awhaitey has been dismissed from the Army for neglecting to report information about an alleged plot to kill or capture the Prime Minister. Both the verdict and the sentence are subject to confirmation. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, January 23, 1959.)

The Government subsequently appointed a three-man commission to inquire into the alleged plot, headed by Mr. Granville Sharpe, Justice of Appeal.

A Ministry of Defence announcement on the appointment of the commission said "in view of the facts disclosed at the court-martial proceedings against Captain B. Awhaitey, the Government has decided that a public inquiry should be held into the various allegations made in regard to an alleged plot to assassinate on December 20, 1958, the Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers".

A writ of *habeas corpus* was filed by Dr. J. B. Danquah in respect of the two Members of Parliament detained under the Preventive Detention Act in connexion with the alleged plot. He then asked the Accra Divisional Court for an order to stop the sitting of the commission because the commission was going into a matter already pending in court.

Dr. Danquah is Counsel for two M.P.s, R. R. Amponsah and M. K. Apaloo.

Mr. Justice A. H. Simpson, sitting at an Accra Divisional Court, refused the application. He said the commission of inquiry was not a court and had no authority to determine questions of fact and the rights of subjects. "It merely inquires and reports." He added: "While it might not be considered altogether desirable for the commission of inquiry to commence proceedings while *habeas corpus* proceedings are pending, I am satisfied that *habeas corpus* proceedings—if they are not completed before the commission resumes—will not be prejudiced thereby."

When the commission resumed on February 9, Mr. Justice Granville Sharpe was asked to recommend that the two Opposition M.P.s be released so that they could take part in the proceedings, but the commission declined to do this, and proceeded to hear evidence from army officers.

In the Accra Divisional Court on February 12, Mr. Justice Simpson refused the application for writs of *habeas corpus*. He said he could not accept Dr. Danquah's submission that the Preventive Detention Act as applied was punitive.

Commenting on the appointment of Mr. Granville Sharpe as chairman of the commission, *West Africa* (March 7, 1959) said: "The satisfaction felt in the country at his appointment as chairman is a remarkable tribute both to the reputation he has won in Ghana and to Ghana common sense, for he arrived in Ghana only eighteen months ago, after Ghana had become independent."

The Law and Politics

Mr. Justice Van Lare, Acting Chief Justice, speaking of the importance of the Supreme Court in a country governed by a written Constitution, said: "The Government must be run within that Constitution and any

question as to whether or not the Constitution has been transgressed is a matter which the Supreme Court must resolve."

Mr. Justice Van Lare said that there was nothing more important for the stability of "our independence than the fair and impartial administration of justice. . . . It has often been said that not only must justice be done, but it must plainly be seen to be done. I take this to mean that not even the most suspicious litigant must be given any cause for saying that the judge who decided against him was influenced by any extraneous consideration. . . ."

Mr. Justice Van Lare explained that "the decision in a trial must be based on the evidence given in court and on nothing else. No preconceived ideas whether of politics or anything else must be allowed to enter one's judgement. The judge or magistrate must have no personal interest, direct or indirect, in a case before him."

He said: "It is exceptionally important in this country at this stage of our development, where political party feeling runs so high, that politics should and must rigidly be excluded from the courts, whether subordinate or superior, whether in the day-to-day work of the courts or in the selection of their personnel."

He called for good judges who have courage, integrity, wisdom and learning and who are impartial and independent. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, January 26, 1959.)

Independent Army Established

The Army of Ghana is to be established as an independent force. Mr. A. E. Inkumsah, Minister of State, said that the Army would lose its connexion with the Sovereign, which went back to 1926.

"However, the Government wished that the Army should in some other way retain the Royal connexion and therefore instructed that the Queen should be invited to assume the appointment of Colonel-in-Chief of the Ghana Regiment of Infantry. I am happy to inform the House that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve a submission to this effect."

The Minister added that legislation affecting the naval and air forces would also be introduced "very soon". (*Ghana Today*, March 4, 1959.)

Action Against M.P.s' Boycott

The salaries and allowances of Members of the National Assembly who deliberately boycott the proceedings of the House may be withheld. This was stated by Mr. Kofi Baako, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, in the National Assembly on February 23 in reply to a question. Fifteen members of the Opposition attended the meeting for fifteen minutes. It was the first time they had done so since last December. As soon as they entered the Chamber, Members of the Government greeted them with shouts of "Shame! Shame! What do you want? You come for transport and travelling allowances?" Later, Mr. S. D. Dombo, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, said: "The Opposition does not intend to take part in the debates of the House until Mr. M. K. Apaloo and Mr. R. R. Amponsah [two M.P.s detained under the Preventive Detention Act] have been released or put to trial." He appealed to M.P.s to "use their good offices to see to it that this elementary human right was accorded to them". Mr. Dombo's statement was greeted with shouts of "Shame" from Government backbenchers. The Opposition M.P.s later walked out of the Assembly.

On March 9 a Bill was published which when it becomes law will unseat Mr. Amponsah and Mr. Apaloo and also provide that a M.P. shall lose his seat if he absents himself without the Speaker's permission from ten consecutive sittings or if he declares his intention publicly to boycott the proceedings of Parliament. A memorandum attached to the Bill and signed by Dr. Nkrumah said: "It is the duty of every Member of Parliament elected by constituencies to perform the duties expected of him. Any Member who defaults in this duty must therefore lose his seat."

It is reported that the Opposition is split over the decision to boycott meetings of the House. Mr. J. A. Braimah, Deputy National Chairman of the Opposition Party, said that he was convinced that the House was the proper platform for political issues to be discussed. He believed it was in the interest of his constituents for him to attend. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, March 4, 1959.)

School for Journalists

A "vigorous growth of public opinion" was among the factors responsible for an expansion of newspapers in Ghana since independence, said Mr. Kofi Baako at the opening of a new School of Journalism in Accra. Other causes were a nation-wide interest in what was going on and an increased desire for education among both adults and children. Equally, the need for information abroad about Ghana was growing rapidly. The overseas visits by the Prime Minister had further stimulated interest.

In the past, the Government had offered overseas scholarships to journalists, but the new School had been established in a positive effort to attract men and women with the aptitude and education to rise high in the profession. Twenty-four students would be taking the full-time course and there would be almost as many at the part-time classes. Both types of students would be able to qualify for a diploma which it was hoped would take its place as a worthwhile and recognized sign of proficiency.

After study, students would be attached to firms and organizations interested in journalism and information in order to get an all-round grasp of their duties. (*Ghana Today*, March 4, 1959.)

Cabinet Reshuffle

The revised list of the Portfolios assigned to Ministers in the Ghana Government has been announced as follows: Defence and Interior, Dr. Nkrumah; Finance, Mr. K. A. Gbedemah; External Affairs, Mr. Kojo Botsio; Health, Mr. J. H. Allasani; Justice and Local Government, Mr. A. E. A. Ofori Atta; Guinea Affairs, Mr. N. A. Welbeck; Labour and Co-operatives, Mr. Ako Adjei; Minister of State, Mr. A. E. Inkumsah; Transport and Communications, Mr. Krobo Edusei; Information and Broadcasting, Mr. Kofi Baako; Education, Mr. C. T. Nylander; Works and Housing, Mr. E. K. Bensah; Food and Agriculture, Mr. F. Y. Asare; Trade and Industries, Mr. P. K. K. Quaidoo. (*The Times*, January 19, 1959.)

Nigeria

Royal Visit

H.R.H. PRINCESS MARGARET is to visit Nigeria as the Queen's special representative for the Federation's attainment of Independence in October, 1960. (*The Times*, February 13, 1959.)

Northern Nigeria Achieves Self-Government

On March 15, Northern Nigeria, with a population of 17 millions, attained internal self-government as part of the Nigerian Federation. The Eastern and Western regions have already achieved this and the whole country—Britain's largest colony with a total population of 33 millions—is to become an independent state within the Commonwealth in October, 1960.

At a private ceremony, the British Governor, Sir Gawain Bell, officially handed over the presidency of the Executive Council to the Premier, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello. The full celebrations of this latest step towards complete independence are being delayed until May, because of the Moslem feast of Ramadan. The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester are due to attend them. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 16, 1959.)

Speech from the Throne

In his speech from the Throne at the last session of the present House of Representatives, H.E. the Governor-General said: ". . . My Government will continue to press forward vigorously with the political and economic development of Nigeria. . . . New legislation will be put before this House . . . to establish Borstal institutions, to make provision for the engagement and services of Special Constables with the Nigerian Police Force, ensure the uniform compulsory registration of title to all land in Lagos. . . . Financial legislation other than the Appropriation Bill will include a Sales Tax Bill and the Ministry of Finance Incorporated Bill, the latter designed to permit the Ministry as a Corporation to acquire and hold property, including shares. A Treasury Bills Ordinance will be

introduced . . . its purpose being to foster the development of a money market in Nigeria and to facilitate the day-to-day financial operations of Government."

The Governor-General continued: "The progressive Nigerianization of the Federal Public Service will be pursued by every means possible. The scheme for posting supernumerary superscale officers for training in positions of real responsibility will be expanded in the Administration and also extended to apply to almost all the departments. This is essentially a training scheme to equip Nigerian members of the Public Service with the necessary knowledge and experience for filling the higher posts in the Civil Service."

"Development of education will continue. One commercial and four more secondary schools will be opened, including one with a strong bias toward technical subjects. A special scheme for blind children will be established and a scheme for the further education of adults in evening classes."

He went on to say that the development and improvement of the medical and health services continued to be of close concern, also that greater use would be made of prison labour on development schemes in rural areas, and a system would be introduced to reduce the extreme fluctuations in the employment and earnings of dockworkers, expand the services of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. As regards defence, he said it was intended to devise a system for the organization, command and control of the Military Forces and the Navy which would enable a fully established Ministry of Defence to be set up upon independence. The Governor-General concluded by saying: "You may rightly claim to have successfully carried out accepted Parliamentary procedure in a praiseworthy manner and I sincerely trust that the enlarged House which succeeds this one will be equally noteworthy for its adherence to democratic principles." (*News from Nigeria*, February 7, 1959.)

A Special Committee has been set up under the chairmanship of the Minister of Education, Alhaji Isa Kaita, O.B.E., M.H.R., to speed up the northernization of the Regional Public Service. The Committee has the additional responsibility of collaborating with Regional Ministries in devising, financing, and establishing such training schemes as may be required to implement the policy of northernization. The Committee is also charged with the task of advising the Minister of Education on any changes that may be considered necessary or desirable in the Education Development Programme and, in consulting with the Regional Scholarship Board, on the sum which should be set aside annually for scholarships, plus the task of preserving a close liaison with the Federal Government, the Nigerian Armed Forces, and Federal and Regional Statutory Corporations, for the purpose of ensuring that Northerners who have the necessary qualifications are selected and trained to fill a due proportion of both senior and junior posts in those services, and finally it has a general responsibility for watching over the welfare and morale of Northern students undergoing professional, technical or in-servicing training. (*News from Nigeria*, January 24, 1959.)

Dr. Nkrumah in Nigeria

"We are one people, bound together by our Africanism," said Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, at a special session of the Eastern Nigerian House of Assembly when he visited the Federation. Whatever differences there might be between Ghana and Nigeria in points of view about political and economic development, they should never forget their common destiny. The two countries had for generations been linked by bonds of friendship and he hoped that Nigeria's independence would further strengthen them in the common task of liberating Africa.

During his eleven-day tour Dr. Nkrumah addressed the Lagos Municipal Council, saying that a group of people in Ghana wanted to take the law into their own hands, believing that they could achieve political objectives, not through constitutional means but through subversion and the use of violence and terrorism. The administration of the country would have broken down if there had not been prompt, strong and effective action. (*Ghana Today*, February 18, 1959.)

Speaking at a special meeting of the House of Assembly to welcome Dr. Nkrumah, Dr. Azikiwe, Prime Minister of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, said he hoped that an independent Federation of Nigeria would

play a worthy part in the future Federation of Independent West African States and with Ghana create a hate-free, greed-free and fear-free Africa. He believed these African states might achieve a unity undreamt of and become models of honest and democratic government which would give hope to all Africa and offer a challenge to the rest of the world. He described Dr. Nkrumah as "an outstanding pioneer in the fight for freedom of a sister nation in West Africa. . . . We who are battle-scarred and are now on the verge of attaining our own statehood have been especially emboldened by the tenacity of purpose of Dr. Nkrumah and his immortal comrades to make Ghana free."

A speech of a different character came from the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Sam Ikoku, in the course of which he said: "I shall not be doing my conscience justice if I fail to point out that many Nigerians are somewhat apprehensive of recent developments in your country. The deportation of Nigerians from Ghana, the detention without trial of Members of the Opposition in the Ghana Parliament, the control of trade union activities and funds by a Ministry of the Ghana Government, and the attempt by Parliament to lord it over the Judiciary—these are some of the recent trends in your country which have left your admirers in this country stunned and have greatly strengthened the hands of the imperialist die-hards in Britain and elsewhere." Some persons, he continued, had tried to explain away those lapses with the argument that the African system must be different from that of Western Europe, but he believed that fundamentals should be the same. If there were to be an African concept different from that of Western Europe it should be an improvement. They could not accept the theory that the African system should be qualitatively inferior.

Mr. Ikoku added that freedom from want must be one of the main-springs of Nigeria's foreign policy as the country emerged into full nationhood. The attraction of foreign capital in large quantities, the accumulation of domestic investment capital and the attraction of foreign technical skills were some of the desiderata for the attainment of freedom from want for their people, and these compelled them to direct their foreign policy along the lines of interdependence. There must be interdependence among the countries of the British Commonwealth and among the countries of the free world.

Dr. Nkrumah in the course of his reply gave a warning against the Balkanization of the African continent. The leaders of Africa, he said, should in consultation among themselves decide what form union should take. The sooner they began to create a climate for unity the better. As they marched forward towards a realization of their aspirations they must keep before their minds and eyes the danger of Balkanization, not only in West Africa but in the continent as a whole. Meanwhile, from now on it was essential that Africa should play an increasingly positive role in world affairs. The voice of Africa must be heard, and heard in unison through their African personality within their own African community. Having referred to the links of friendship between Nigeria and Ghana, he recalled the success that had attended the Accra conference and said that three important and common attitudes had emerged from it, namely their desire to see all Africa free, their determination to pursue foreign policies based on non-alignment and positive neutralism, and their urgent need for economic development. He looked forward to Nigeria participating in the next conference of independent African states and gave an assurance that she would receive a warm welcome into that community of free and independent African states.

Nigerian Ships

Arrangements for the purchase of ships and for training schemes for Nigerian officers, engineers and shore managers were completed at a meeting in Lagos of the board of the Nigerian National Line. The membership of the board includes three Nigerians and three representatives of Elder Dempster Line and the Palm Line, two British companies which are technical partners in the company. Speaking in the Federal House of Representatives, Mr. Raymond Njoku, the Transport Minister, said the first issue of the shipping company's shares would amount to £400,000, but he had no doubt that in a very few years the authorized capital of £2 millions would be surpassed. The line would initially comprise one owned and two chartered vessels after which expansion would be limited "only by the speed with which Nigerians can learn to run the line and the ability of

Nigerians to raise 51 per cent of the necessary capital". (*The Times*, February 23, 1959.)

First Q.C.s

The first two Nigerians to be appointed Queen's Counsel were installed at a ceremony in Lagos by Lord Evershed, Master of the Rolls. They are Chief F. R. A. Williams, Attorney-General and Minister of Justice of the Western Region, and Chief H. O. Davies, a Lagos barrister. (*Manchester Guardian*, January 10, 1959.)

Progress Report on the Federal Economic Programme, 1955-60

The latest changes and variations in the Federal Economic Programme 1955-60 have resulted in some increase over the original estimates. The original estimate of the cost of the programme was £91,336,000 between 1955-60 and £11,430,000 after 1960, a total of £102,766,000. The programme as recast amounted in all to £111,006,480. Further variations were approved in the course of 1958-9 so that by the end of 1958 the approved Programme had increased to £111,734,550. Actual expenditure in the first quarter of 1958-9 was running at an annual rate of £27 millions. This is broken down as follows: Loans: £32,860,000; Highways and Bridges £20,408,000; Public Works Extraordinary £18,634,000; Posts and Telegraphs £12,738,000; Other Capital Expenditure £27,094,000. The Report states: "For many years capital expenditure performance has lagged behind forecast. At one time there were difficulties in the supply of materials. When these diminished, there remained the problem of finding staff, especially technicians. This problem has, however, been met to a great extent by the recent increase in remuneration for engineering staff engaged on contract. . . . It appears that the Federation is entering a new period in which the extent of the country's development programme will be limited chiefly by finance. Hitherto the failure to keep pace with estimated expenditure has hampered the Federation's quest for loan finance. It has been argued that, so long as Nigeria cannot spend her own money, what need has she of loans. Henceforth this argument cannot apply. The needs are unmistakably apparent." (*News from Nigeria*, March 4, 1959.)

"Budget of Responsibility"

In his budget speech the Federal Minister of Finance, Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, said that the Federation expected to have a revenue of £76 millions during the financial year 1959-60. Of this £32 millions would automatically pass to the Regions under the new system of revenue allocation which comes into force on April 1, as their share of customs revenue, etc., leaving £44 millions for Federal Government expenditure.

The Federal Government planned to spend £112 millions on capital development during the period April 1958 to March 1962. £78 millions would come from its own resources; the remainder to be raised from external and internal loans.

Chief Festus said he had called it the "responsibility budget" because it has been designed to demonstrate before the eyes of the world our readiness to shoulder our responsibilities as a sovereign nation. . . . We intend to spend during the next financial year about £39 millions on the maintenance and expansion of the existing services of the Federal Government. This is £3 millions more than we planned to spend during the present year. Great progress has been made in providing amenities for our people and this must inevitably mean an increase in expenditure on Government services."

Owing to the increased allocation for projects regarded as of the highest importance for the social welfare and economic development of the country, the total capital expenditure programme of the Federal Government for 1955-62 would reach the staggering total of £148 millions.

Chief Festus, however, warned that despite efforts to raise external and internal loans, it would be unrealistic to hold out any hope that within the next three years a sum of the magnitude required could be raised to close the gap between expenditure and resources, therefore measures of additional taxation were intended to pay for far-reaching development plans and at the same time protect the balance of payments position. "It is . . . imperative if we are to continue, let alone accelerate, our development programmes both in the public and private sectors, that import of capital

goods should continue unimpeded, even though this may entail some sacrifice in other directions." (*West Africa*, February 14, 1959, and *News from Nigeria*, February 11, 1959.)

West Africa commented: "It is clear . . . that, unless the Government scales down its plans, Nigeria faces a period of increasing taxation, and of exhortation to contribute to local loans of the kind familiar in so many other countries. On the eve of independence Nigeria is discovering the cost of development." (February 21, 1959.)

Nigerian imports rose in the first ten months of 1958 by £12,846,853 more than in the corresponding period of the previous year.

Exports totalled £109,603,588. With imports reaching £133,731,493 the trade gap widened against Nigeria by more than £24 millions. The rise in imports reflects the huge expenditure now being incurred by the Governments of the Federation in the gradual but steady implementation of their economic programmes. (*Nigeria Trade Summary*, October 1958.)

Recognition of Chiefs

Dr. Nnamdi, Premier of the Eastern Region, has stated that the power to recognize chiefs conferred on the Minister of State charged with responsibility for Customary Courts and Chieftaincy is not subject to court action. He explained nobody would be so regarded unless recognized by the Government in accordance with the Chiefs Recognition Law. Apart from first-class chiefs, others should stand elections on the village, clan and district levels in order that they might obtain the mandate of their people. He explained that his Government was opposed to the Calabar and Ogoja Rivers State demand because it was not unanimous. But it supported the Mid-West State demand because both the Government and the Opposition in the Western House of Assembly had adopted a motion to that effect and the majority of people in the Mid-West area were in favour of it. In the East, Dr. Azikiwe said, the position was different in view of the fact that the former Ogoja and Rivers Provinces wanted their own separate states and pressed the issue at the last Constitutional Conference. (*News from Nigeria*, January 24, 1959.)

Dr. Azikiwe announced that each of the eighty members of the proposed Eastern House of Chiefs is to earn a yearly salary of £800, and draw allowances. He stated that Government had taken this decision in order not to keep the status of natural rulers below that of commoners. Referring to the recent appointment of customary court judges in Orlu Division, the Premier assured the people that the Minister of State charged with responsibility for customary courts and chieftaincy acted from the best of motives and on expert advice. He pointed out that it was not Government's intention to impose incompetent judges on the people. Every town or clan which had a population not less than 20,000 would be entitled to a representative in the proposed Provincial Assemblies.

Speaking in various parts of the Region, Dr. Azikiwe urged the people to register for the Federal election. The Eastern Government, he said, was the first in the Federation to introduce universal adult suffrage, because it realized that voting was a fundamental human right and Easterners should not therefore forgo that right by failing to register now. He added: "Keep your eyes wide open against fraudulent registration, in order to avoid electing people through the back door."

Addressing a District Council near Calabar, Dr. Azikiwe said it was proposed to build a hospital in every District Council area in the Region. He also promised to do all that lay in his power to persuade the Federal Government to supply a modern telephone service to all the districts in the Region.

At another meeting the Premier warned that the Government will take drastic steps to penalize Civil Servants and members of the Local Government staff who are proved to be taking part in active politics. (*News from Nigeria*, January 21 and 24, 1959.)

Public Order Bill

The Eastern Nigerian Government will soon introduce a Public Order Bill to make it impossible for political meetings to be disturbed by hooligans, following complaints from a branch of the N.C.N.C. of intimidation and unprovoked attacks by members of the Action Group, in which the local president of the N.C.N.C. was alleged to have been severely handled.

East Nigeria to Ban Private Armies

The Eastern Nigerian Government proposes to enact a new law to forbid the formation of private armies, the carrying of arms, and the wearing of uniforms at political meetings in the region. Speaking on a private member's motion adopted during the present sitting of the Eastern House of Assembly, the Premier, Dr. Azikiwe, said it was disappointing that it should be necessary for his Government to introduce a Bill on this subject, but in view of recent events the Government had no alternative. (*The Times*, March 13, 1959.)

"Finances Sound"

The Premier of Western Nigeria, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, has described the present state of his Government's finances as more sound than ever before. Speaking at Asaba he said that with the present state of its finances the Regional Government could conveniently provide more amenities for the people of the Region during the next five-year development scheme.

He announced that the Government had completed its scheme whereby every division was to be provided with a hospital, and added that plans for building more hospitals in some towns and districts were being pursued. (*News from Nigeria*, February 28, 1959.)

British Cameroons

Southern Cameroons Election Results

IN the elections, when for the first time there was universal adult suffrage, with 750,000 people entitled to vote, the Opposition Kamerun National Democratic Party, led by Mr. J. N. Foncha, won control of fourteen of the twenty-six seats in the new Legislature. Mr. Foncha is expected to form his Cabinet soon. The K.N.C.-K.P.P. Alliance have twelve seats (K.N.C. eight, K.P.P. four). With Dr. Endeley as Leader it will now form the Opposition.

The K.N.D.P. urges secession from the Nigerian Federation and union with the French Cameroons. The defeated K.N.C. stands for continued association of the Southern Cameroons with Nigeria.¹ K.N.D.P. successes, mostly overwhelming, were registered chiefly in constituencies bordering on the French Cameroons.

West Africa commented: "The election results make it likely that in any plebiscite the Southern Cameroons will vote against integration with Nigeria, though whether a majority would vote for joining the French Cameroons is less clear. The British Government has agreed, as it would not in the case of Togoland, that if the Southern Cameroons wished to remain a Trust Territory, U.K. trusteeship would continue. It is possible that those who have voted for the K.N.D.P. have been influenced chiefly by domestic issues. . . . If the U.N. should decide, however, that the vote of both Northern and Southern Cameroons in the plebiscite should be counted together there is no doubt that there would be a substantial majority for ending trusteeship and joining Nigeria; or if the vote in favour of joining the French Cameroons had to be more than a simple majority it might not be forthcoming, even in the Southern Cameroons." (January 31, 1959.)

Future Status

In a speech before the U.N. Trusteeship Committee, Mr. J. N. Foncha, newly-elected Premier of the Southern Cameroons, said he was confident that any further consultation with the people would produce a result still more favourable for the K.N.D.P. He therefore would accept a plebiscite "to silence, once and for all, the integrationists". This, however, was on condition that the "fairest means available [were] used". If the General Assembly thought a plebiscite was necessary, the question to be put to the people must be based on separation from the Federation of Nigeria or remaining with it. Reunification could come only after separation and should not be used as a question for the plebiscite.

Dr. Endeley, Leader of the Opposition, also favoured a plebiscite under U.N. supervision. He declared that the apparent success in running an

¹The only other party, *One Kamerun*, seeks the immediate unification and independence of the two Cameroons.

autonomous Southern Cameroons region as part of the Nigerian Federation had given rise to new parties aspiring to complete secession from Nigeria. These parties had "played on the vanity of the uninformed masses". He stated that if the Southern Cameroons seceded from Nigeria, the frontier that would be created with Nigerian territory would be almost double the present one and would create greater cleavage than now existed. Dr. Endeley challenged those who supported separation from Nigeria to point out the faults of the existing arrangements and to show alternative advantages to be gained by association with a "long estranged" French Cameroons. He declared that, with the French Cameroons on the threshold of independence and with the northern part of the British Cameroons linked to the Northern Region of Nigeria, also moving fast towards independence, it would be unjust if the United Nations were to recommend continued trusteeship for the Southern Cameroons. Dr. Endeley concluded by urging the French Cameroons to apply for federation with Nigeria after both had achieved independence. Both Cameroons would then be part of a wider federation, eliminating frontier problems and thus realizing the dream of a united Cameroon nation in association with Nigeria.

Mallam Abdullahi Dan Buram Jada, Minister for Northern Cameroons Affairs in the Government of Northern Nigeria, stressed the importance the people of the Northern British Cameroons attached to remaining within the Northern Region of Nigeria. The Northern Cameroons, he said, had always had "the strongest racial, historical and economic connexions" with Northern Nigeria. They also had at least two languages in common—Hausa and Fulani. In contrast, there were no cultural ties or widely used common languages either with the Southern British Cameroons or with the bulk of the French Cameroons. To separate the people of the Northern Cameroons from a fully independent Federation of Nigeria would be a "direct negation" of all those principles for which the General Assembly stood. He was confident that the Assembly's sense of justice would ensure that no such separation occurred. (*U.N. News Release*, 8/59.)

The General Assembly in plenary session on March 13 adopted a resolution on the future of the Cameroons under U.K. administration with fifty-six in favour, none against and twenty-four abstentions of which the operative parts were as follows: (1) Recommends that the Administering Authority in pursuance of Article 76b of the Charter of the United Nations take steps, in consultation with a U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner, to organize, under the supervision of the United Nations, separate plebiscites in the Northern and Southern parts of the Cameroons under U.K. administration, in order to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory concerning their future; (2) Recommends further that in the Northern part of the Territory the plebiscite should take place about the middle of November 1959, that the people of the Northern part of the Territory should be asked: (a) do you wish the Northern Cameroons to be part of the Northern Region of Nigeria when the Federation of Nigeria becomes independent? or (b) are you in favour of deciding the future of the Northern Cameroons at a later date? and that the plebiscite should be conducted on the basis of the electoral register at present being compiled for the elections to the Federal House of Representatives; (3) Recommends further that the plebiscite in the Southern part of the Territory should be conducted during the next dry season between the beginning of December 1959 and the end of April 1960; (4) Decides that the two alternatives to be put to the people of the Southern part of the Territory and the qualifications for voting in the plebiscite there should be considered at the Fourteenth Session of the General Assembly; (5) Expresses the hope that all concerned in the Territory will endeavour to reach agreement before the opening of the Fourteenth Session of the General Assembly on the alternatives to be put in the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons and the qualifications for voting in it; (6) Decides to appoint a U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner who shall exercise on behalf of the General Assembly all the necessary powers and functions of supervision, and who shall be assisted by observers and staff to be appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with him; (7) Requests the Plebiscite Commissioner to submit to the Trusteeship Council a report in two parts on the organization, conduct and results of the plebiscites, the first part of the report, which shall deal with the Northern part of the Territory, to be submitted in time for transmission to the General Assembly for consideration before the end of its Fourteenth Session; (8) Requests the Trusteeship Council to transmit to it

the reports of the Plebiscite Commissioner, together with any recommendations and observations it considers necessary. After adopting this resolution the Assembly elected Ambassador Djalal Abdo of Iran as the Plebiscite Commissioner. (U.N. News Release No. 10/59, March 17, 1959.)

During the second reading of the Appropriation Bill in the Federal House of Representatives in Lagos several members spoke on the intention of the newly-elected Government of the Southern Cameroons to secede from Nigeria and join the French Cameroons in due course. Some members wanted Nigeria to cease giving financial aid to the Southern Cameroons. Others pointed out that Nigeria was still getting financial aid from the United Kingdom, although it was agreed she would be independent next year and it would not add to Nigeria's prestige if she took a less generous attitude towards the Southern Cameroons. Some members took the view that the question of the Southern Cameroons was not yet decided and it was up to the Federation to persuade the Southern Cameroons to stay with the Nigerian Federation, in the same way as the Northern Region had persuaded the Northern Cameroons to stay with them. (News from Nigeria, February 14, 1959.)

Sierra Leone

More Diamond Trouble

THE Government said that the country's whole future was threatened by the growing illicit diamond racket. Armed gangs were openly flouting authority and had had many clashes with the police, who had made 2,500 arrests since the beginning of November.

In the past illicit mining had damaged outlying areas, but now it was being directed at the richest reserves of the Sierra Leone Selection Trust on an organized gang scale. "What is happening now affects the company's raw material for the next two or three years."

It would be impossible to replace the revenue payable by the company to the Government—£800,000 during the coming year and £1 million the following year—and financial independence would be imperilled at the worst possible time. The Government was determined to "call a halt to this situation by dealing not only with those who engaged in illicit mining but also those who organize it and profit from it". (The Times, January 16, 1959.)

Gambia

Possible Association With Mali

MANY Gambians are known to favour joining either the Mali Federation (Senegal, the French Sudan, the Upper Volta and Dahomey) as a separate and autonomous member state whenever Mali acquires independence from the French Community, or joining the West African confederation, of which Ghana and Guinea are the founder members and which presumably will eventually embrace Mali and the rest of the French-speaking Africa.

Gambia leaders recognize that the little Colony and Protectorate of 320,000 inhabitants is a geographic and economic anomaly which dates from the nineteenth-century conception of trading stations and that it must be economically associated with some larger entity. (Sunday Times, February 15, 1959.)

OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES

Belgian Africa

Trouble in Leopoldville

FURTHER disturbances were reported from the Belgian Congo. It has become practically impossible for Whites to enter the African quarters of

Leopoldville, the capital, without heavy police escort, and journalists have only been able to drive through at high speed and at the risk of broken windows. *Abako*, the outlawed political movement of the Bakongo tribe, whose territory lies between Leopoldville and the sea, continues its activities underground. All its leaders have been imprisoned, as well as some 500 politically active tribesmen. As a result they have become national heroes—and without their control, the movement has got out of hand. . . .

"Moreover, the movement is being openly supported from Brazzaville, the capital of the newly created French 'Republique Congolaise', whose Prime Minister, M. Fulbert Youlou, has publicly stated his unconditional agreement with the actions of the *Abako*. Most observers believe that it will not be long before riots break out again in Leopoldville. . . .

"If Belgium does not fix a date for independence, bloodshed seems unavoidable. The chief difficulty remains, however—that the *Abako* leaders want more than that: they want to be separated from the rest of the Congo, which is unprepared for self-government. Such separatism the Belgian Government will not grant, because it would be followed by similar claims in other areas." (Manchester Guardian, February, 1959.)

Dr. Roland Oliver, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, commented that the troubles had taken the world by surprise, "because a myth has grown up that Belgium, alone among the colonial powers, holds the secret of governing contented colonies in the middle of the twentieth century". (Sunday Times, January 11, 1959.)

Some 1,500 Africans were arrested during comb-out operations in the African suburbs of Leopoldville. Mr. Thomas Hodgkin wrote in the *New Statesman* (January 24, 1959): "While I believe that the Congolese have reached a stage in their history which can roughly be compared with that which the Gold Coast had reached in February 1948, there are certain special difficulties confronting the Congolese in their effort to travel the Ghana road. It is not going to be easy for them to persuade the administration on the spot to stop treating them as children and to work towards its own abolition. There are fewer crypto-Fabians in the Government of the Congo than there were in the Gold Coast of 1948. There is the further problem of the *colons*—perhaps 100,000 of them—less than 1 per cent of the total population, and not landowners on any scale except in Kivu. They certainly do not present a problem on anything approaching an Algerian scale; and, though there are some buccaneers among them, they have on the whole been ruled from Brussels, and played relatively little part in ruling. But they will not like the new policy. Moreover, there is the sheer vastness and internal diversity of the Congo, which tends to encourage tribalism, or at least regionalism, and makes the creation of genuinely national Congolese organizations a difficult task—even if the administration puts no obstacles in the way."

White settlers in the Congo through their own organization called Fedacol (Federation Congolaise des Classes Moyennes) said "they are not against democratic government for the Congo, but they want Brussels to guarantee that there will be no form of 'Black dictatorship'. And if such happened, they want an alternative assurance that the authorities in Belgium would get them out of the country. Fedacol recommend strengthening the Congo's economy before moves are made for political and social progress. The settlers generally believe that Congo representatives should have their places in Brussels and that the Belgian Government should have direct representatives in the Congo. They are also asking for 'gradual steps' towards independence, with each stage being given enough time to prove it will work." (The Times, January 21, 1959.)

Economic Development

The Governor-General, Mr. Hendrik Cornelis, said Belgium would spend 70,000,000,000 francs (about £500 millions) in developing the Colony between 1959 and 1969. The economic development programme was intended gradually to wean the Congo away from its present economy, based on the massive export of raw materials, and to increase local buying power. Priority would be given to agricultural development to bring the living standard of ten million rural Africans nearer the level of the three million working in the cities. Communications would also be developed, roads built, and ports modernized. There would be training of African specialists. "We will need hundreds of doctors, engineers, veterinary surgeons, agriculturalists, and these must mainly be Africans because it is on the African

elite that the future of the Congo depends," said the Governor. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 24, 1959.)

Rich sources of aluminium have been found in the Lower Congo, according to a statement by M. van Hemelrych, Belgian Minister for the Congo. There has been a four-year intensive search for aluminium sources to find a firm reason for creating an industry which will take some of the power from the hydro-electric scheme at Inga. When fully developed Inga will be the biggest power station in the world, with a capacity of at least 25 million kilowatts. The scheme has been held up because of the reluctance of aluminium companies to commit themselves to operating a big plant with ores imported from South America. (*Daily Telegraph*, February 16, 1959.)

Party Statements

The Congolese National Movement (M.N.C.) asked the Belgian Minister for the Congo to recognize immediately the necessity for free political activity in the Congo such as existed in every free country. "The M.N.C. demands the implicit recognition by the public authorities of existing political movements and also their representation in the carrying out of the affairs of the country."

The Congolese Democratic Party, recently formed in Leopoldville, included in its programme the study of a Constitution guaranteeing to every citizen the benefits of modern democracy in a unitary state. It condemned as anti-democratic all forms of intimidation, whether moral or physical pressure. (*Inter-Afrique Presse*, February 21-8, 1959.)

French Africa

First Meeting of Executive Council

THE first meeting of the Executive Council of the French Community was held in Paris on February 3 and 4, 1959, under the chairmanship of General de Gaulle. The Council consisted of the French Premier Michel Debré, members of the French Government and the Prime Ministers of the eleven African member-states: Gabon, Middle Congo, Chad and the Central African Republic (formerly the territories of French Equatorial Africa), Senegal, Sudan, Mauritania, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey and Niger (French West Africa) and Madagascar. It decided that the Senate of the Community would consist of 284 members (based on a representation of one member for every 300,000 inhabitants): of these 186 would represent the French Republic, i.e. metropolitan France, Algeria and the overseas departments and territories of the Republic. Each of the African states was given the right to nominate two members to the French Economic and Social Council, and to have representation in French diplomatic missions abroad. Four special committees were established: economic and social affairs; transport and telecommunications; justice and higher education; relations with international bodies. It was decided to have French as the official language; Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité as the motto; the Marseillaise as the National Anthem and the Tricolor with a special device as the flag. (*Inter-Afrique Presse*, February 7, 1959.)

William Millinship (*O.F.N.S.*, February 6, 1959) commented: "There is every indication that, at least to begin with, France will maintain a firm grip on the 'common fields of competence'; that is, all matters which are dealt with by the Community as a whole. . . .

"At the moment France has the lion's share of power, and the main problem will be to develop a fairer but workable balance. The pace of this development must be carefully adjusted, not fast enough to irritate the French and not so slow as to discourage the Africans."

Federation of Mali

Senegal, Sudan, Dahomey and Upper Volta agreed to form the Federation of Mali. In its Constitution reference was made to the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789 and of 1948. The Federation is open to any autonomous state in West Africa which wishes to join it. Executive power is given to the Head of the Federal Government working through a Council of Ministers. Each of the component states will have two Ministers in the Council. The Legislative Assembly, elected for five years, will be composed of twelve members from each state: they must also be members of the

Territorial Legislative Assemblies. The Federal Assembly has to elect the High Court of Justice at the beginning of each Legislature's session. Matters for Federal legislation include all matters affecting the rights and liberties of citizens (including labour, social affairs, pensions, police, etc.): education; economic and financial matters (including transport and communications, taxation). (*Inter-Afrique Presse*, January 30, 1959.)

Subsequently, Dahomey, under the Prime Minister, M. Apithy, withdrew from the Federation on the grounds that its government was over-centralized. (*West Africa*, February 28, 1959.) And Upper Volta has indicated that it, too, is having second thoughts about its original intention of joining.

Demonstrations in Dahomey

Demonstrators demanding new elections gathered round the Parliament building in Port Novo when deputies were arriving to debate the constitution of Dahomey following the granting of internal self-government to the territory. About 100 demonstrators entered the Assembly building and occupied deputies' seats shouting "Resign" and protesting against the creation of the Mali Federation. One of the demonstrators read out a motion saying: "We, people of Dahomey, meeting in the National Assembly, solemnly proclaim that the elected members of this Assembly have not been given mandate by the people to decide on the integration of Dahomey in the Federation of Mali. Therefore we claim the ending of this Assembly in order to replace it with a representative body in conformity with the will of the sovereign people."

The debate was postponed as a result of the demonstrations.

Togo and U.S. of Africa

The Juvento Movement in the Republic of Togoland called on the Government, headed by M. Sylvanus Olympio, to negotiate an "immediate" independence for the country within the framework of a United States of Africa. A statement signed by the secretary of the Movement, M. Napo Badji, asked the Government to modify its programme of "isolation".

It accused the French High Commissioner of trying to interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic of Togoland and of creating conflict between Togoland and the peaceful neighbouring nation of Ghana. (*Accra Evening News*, February 3, 1959.)

Disturbances in the Congo Republic

Ninety-eight people were killed, 170 wounded and several hundred arrested during fighting between African groups in Brazzaville. A former Prime Minister, M. Jacques Opangault, was among those arrested. M. Opangault lost his Parliamentary majority by one vote in November to the Abbé Fulbert Youlou, leader of the Democratic Union for the Defence of African interests. The Abbé Youlou moved the seat of Government from Point Noire to Brazzaville, where his supporters in the Balali tribe are strong. M. Opangault and his party countered by boycotting Parliament and demanding that a date should be named for elections.

The *Manchester Guardian* (February 19, 1959) said: "The political divisions in this strife are perhaps more realistically defined as the Balali tribesmen from the south for the Government and the M'Bochi tribesmen from the north for the Opposition. Most of the casualties were among the Balalis. . . . The quarrel is entirely between Africans. White men's houses have only been invaded by Africans seeking refuge from one another."

Later the Congo Government announced that a referendum is to be held in the northern part of the country to see if the republic should split into two states. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 9, 1959.)

GENERAL

Investment in Underdeveloped Countries

MR. JOHN G. BEEVOR, vice-president of the International Finance Corporation, said that the rapid growth of African purchasing power was the most striking and significant feature that he had found in his visit to Central, South and East Africa. Mr. Beevor said that he had visited the

Rhodesias, South Africa, Kenya and Uganda. He was not in Africa mainly looking for business and studying particular projects, but wanted to see how the I.F.C. might be able to help the developing countries. He said the two reasons why the I.F.C. had not yet invested in Africa were firstly that the territories he had visited all possessed traditional connexions with the London capital market, and secondly, the question of the purchasing power.

The I.F.C. was an affiliate or offshoot of the World Bank. It came into being in 1956 and had its own capital—now standing at about £30 millions—subscribed direct by some fifty-seven member countries, who were also members of the World Bank.

The World Bank could lend only to governments or to enterprises which carried a government guarantee. Whereas the I.F.C. invested in productive private enterprise in association with private investors without any government guarantee. As a matter of policy, the I.F.C. made investment only in underdeveloped countries. (*Press Release, Dar-es-Salaam, February 10, 1959.*)

American Policy for Africa

Mr. Joseph C. Satterthwaite, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, recently appointed to take charge of African Affairs, said that Americans must sympathetically appreciate the legitimate aspirations of Africa's 220 million people and while regarding the problems of multi-racial societies with understanding must "stand steadfast in all international forums for the principle of non-discrimination and racial equality throughout the world". He pointed out that although some of the resolutions and statements at the recent African People's Conference in Ghana are regarded as controversial, they generally reflect African aspirations for self-government and economic and social progress, and a deep-seated opposition to colonialism and racial discrimination. "Such attitudes are understandable and are feelings with which Americans can legitimately sympathize."

Mr. Satterthwaite listed the two most serious current problems in Africa as being, first, that of achieving a just racial policy in multi-racial areas of settlement; and secondly, that of maintaining the freedom of the

African nationalist movement from the interference of international Communism. "The United States," he said, "cannot ignore the serious dangers inherent in any failure to meet the problems of harmonious, just relations in Africa's dependent and independent territories."

Mr. Satterthwaite outlined the importance and opportunities for economic aid to Africa—a policy designed as an "investment in human beings". Throughout the continent there were movements to regroup territories into new regional and federal associations. "The United States views with favour political associations of African states, when such associations contribute to political stability and economic viability and are in accordance with the desires of the populations concerned. . . . The West must show dedication and imagination and build a new relationship with the dynamic twentieth-century Africa based on principles of equality, justice and mutual understanding. In a spirit of partnership, of enlightened goodwill and generosity worthy of its position as a major world power, the United States must assist Africa to achieve its objectives by peaceful and orderly means." (*Observer Foreign News Service, January 30, 1959.*)

Atomic Menace

Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, told the House of Representatives in Lagos that Nigeria would expect to be consulted before any atomic tests were carried out in the Sahara, adding that he hoped the House's apprehension would be communicated to the French Government. The *Ashanti Times* (March 3, 1959) stated: "This is a matter of immediate concern to Ghana, but inexplicably there has so far been no statement from the Government on this grave matter. The appalling fact is that the Harmattan dust clouds which hover over West Africa each year may well be charged with sinister killer particles of radio-activity. A shroud of security covers all nuclear tests. It may well be that an atomic weapon has already been exploded in the Sahara. Varying theories have been put forward to account for recent global climatic changes. That these are caused by nuclear disturbances has been neither confirmed nor denied. . . . In the event of a nuclear explosion in or near Ghana how many of the public would recognize the symptoms of "fall-out"? Could those in isolated communities swiftly reach the medical centres? How many of our new hospitals could adequately treat victims? Could the Army assist an exposed section of the population? . . . One hears much talk of Dr. Nkrumah's dream of a United States of West Africa. Here surely is an issue in which the West African states could readily affirm a rock-like solidarity. . . . If Ghana, indeed, were to take a strong and forthright lead in the matter of banning nuclear tests in the Sahara, her claims to West African leadership would, in the eyes of many, be largely vindicated."

Commonwealth in Conference

At the recent Commonwealth Relations Conference in New Zealand sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs the expansion of the Colonial Development Corporation and the Colonial Development and Welfare Service, to enable them to help newly independent countries within the Commonwealth was endorsed, and merging of the Commonwealth Relations and the Colonial Offices was advocated. It was suggested that the Colonies might be given associate Commonwealth status, and that developed Commonwealth countries should apportion part of their national income to aiding the less developed.

Study groups were advocated on matters causing disputes within the Commonwealth, and there was support for a central post-graduate and research institute in Britain for the study of Commonwealth problems.

The Conference expressed the opinion that all types of racial discrimination should be removed, and that public offices should be thrown open to Africans on an equal basis. Universal franchise, though desirable as an ultimate end, should be limited in some of the new countries during the initial stages of their constitutional advancement. It was stressed, however, that the governments of such countries should prepare their people for eventual adult franchise.

Another point emphasized was that in new countries with developing economies it was far better to have a strong and stable government for ten or fifteen years than to run the risk that elections might result in reversing the trend of policy. (*East Africa and Rhodesia, February 19, 1959.*)

BOOK LIST

(Recent acquisitions to the Africa Bureau Library)

BENSON, Mary. *The Tragedy of Apartheid*. A leaflet giving an account of the racial situation in South Africa, the various discriminatory laws which have been passed and incorporating an appeal for the Treason Trial Defence Fund. Christian Action. (Price 6d.)

Handbook of Tanganyika. Edited by J. P. Moffett. This is a companion volume to *Tanganyika: A Review of its Resources and their Development* and is mainly historical and descriptive. Besides illustrations it contains

twelve maps and an extensive bibliography and is published by the Government of Tanganyika. (Price £2. Postage 2s.)

Report on Somaliland under Italian Administration. The official record of the U.N. Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957, together with related documents. Trusteeship Council Twenty-second Session (June 9-August 1, 1958). Supplement No. 2.

Northern Nigeria. A special edition of the *Diplomatic Bulletin* published to mark Northern Nigeria's attainment of self-government. It contains biographical information about the Region's leaders, a survey of constitutional development, and several illustrated articles about the people and their industries. (Price 2s. 6d.)

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

THE crisis in Central Africa has claimed almost all the attention of the Africa Bureau during recent weeks. A public meeting was held in the Caxton Hall in London in March, under the chairmanship of Lord Hemmingford. The speakers were Fr. Trevor Huddleston, C.R., Ralph Ibbott (of St. Faith's Farm), Mrs. Eirene White, M.P., Mr. Jo Grimond, M.P., and Mr. W. M. K. Chiume, Member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council and Committee Member of the Congress. After the main hall had been filled, two overflow meetings were arranged nearby, and in addition about 150 people who were unable to get in anywhere held an open-air meeting at Marble Arch which was addressed by the Rev. Michael Scott, Fr. Huddleston, and others.

A Central African Emergency Appeal Fund has been launched so that aid can be given to those detained in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia and to the families of those killed and injured. Local committees have been established in Central Africa to administer funds allocated to them.

In view of the Bureau's close association with those working at St. Faith's Mission and Farm we have felt particularly concerned about the arrest and detention of four Africans who hold leading positions there, as well as that of Guy Clutton-Brock, who is so much a part of St. Faith's. It has not yet been heard whether any of the others were released with Mr. Clutton-Brock. The African Development Trust which was formed to support the interracial work at St. Faith's has instructed a firm of solicitors in Southern Rhodesia to act for all from St. Faith's and to advise how best the interracial work of the farm can be maintained under the present circumstances.

We have welcomed Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president-general of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress on his arrival in London,

and hope to be able to assist him in increasing the British people's understanding of African views in the present Central African situation.

Material was supplied to M.P.s and Members of the House of Lords who spoke on matters relating to Central Africa and in particular on the arrest of Mr. Clutton-Brock, who holds both British and Southern Rhodesian citizenship. Similarly we have been in almost constant touch with members of the Press. The advice of lawyers in this country has been taken on how legal aid can best be given to the Central African detainees.

The Bureau is making arrangement for the interracial delegation from Kenya which has been organized by the African Elected Members of the Legislative Council, and which arrives in London on April 12. The Delegation will hold discussions with M.P.s and experts on constitutional law in an effort to find a solution to the present constitutional deadlock in Kenya.

The response to our public appeal for financial support has been encouraging, but it will be necessary to continue this appeal if, in addition to assisting the peoples in Central Africa, the Bureau is to meet the many other demands which are made on it. Many people have offered voluntary help in recent weeks, and it is much regretted that in some cases it has not been possible to accept this because office accommodation is very limited.

The Rev. Michael Scott has addressed meetings in Denbigh, Oxford and Edinburgh on Central Africa, and in London on the question of South West Africa and the United Nations. Miss Mary Benson has undertaken several speaking engagements, including a public meeting in Newcastle, and the Secretary has visited Africa Councils in Bristol and South Wales and addressed a meeting in Maidstone.

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